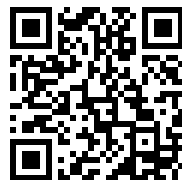


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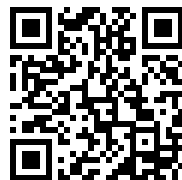


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# FERDINAND LASSALLE

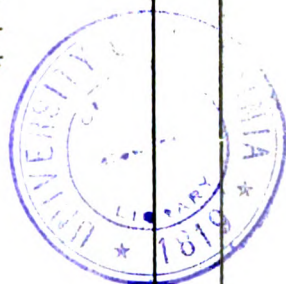
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*As a novelistic subject  
of Friedrich Spielhagen*

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate School of the Uni-  
versity of Pennsylvania in par-  
tial fulfillment of the require-  
ments for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy

By  
*ADOLF SCHUMACHER*



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## P R E F A C E .

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In his attempt to depict, by means of the novel, the social and political thoughts which pervaded Prussia-Germany during the middle of the past century, Friedrich Spielhagen would have failed in his poetical theories, had he passed by the great exponent of a socialist movement which set in at that time. Indeed, for some of his novels he has drawn to a great extent from the life and works of Ferdinand Lassalle.

However, the writer of "Zeitromane" was led also by the desire to influence his time, and consequently, his ethical idealism and political standpoint put him to oppose Lassalle by novelistic means.

Therefore, in presenting the material which the life and works of the founder of German social democracy have furnished for the literary activity of Spielhagen, and which in part is contained in a study "Ferdinand Lassalle im deutschen Zeitroman," submitted by me to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, a statistical form has been deemed less interesting than an arrangement from viewpoints, suggested by the agitatorial efforts of both the Democrat and the novelist.

A. S.

University of Pennsylvania,  
October, 1910.



## INTRODUCTION.

In Friedrich Spielhagen's novel, "Die von Hohenstein," of 1863, Bernhardt Münzer declares at the close of his great plea, that he would console himself over his exit from the political scene with the hope that the genius of the German people in their attempt to solve their great political and social problems might discover, by experimenting with him and his friends, the saving means for the generations to come, and with the thought, also, that the stone rejected by the builder had, after all, become a corner-stone of the State of the future. Thoughts of this kind, no doubt, were often in the mind of Ferdinand Lassalle when, during the last momentous years of his life, he sat, figuratively and literally, in the dock. They found expression the same year in a passage of his Frankfurt speech of May 19, in which he voices his firm belief in his being some day vindicated before the court of history, and in the advent of a time that would see established the state institutions for which he was struggling. Too impatient to wait for the natural development of conditions, which he correctly foresaw to be those of the future, he expected them to be realized during his life. His untimely death did not permit him to rejoice even over the unification of Germany (with the exclusion of Austria) and the introduction of universal suffrage, the two chief points of his political program, for which, as the only possible basis for the social betterment of the proletariat, he had been working with his whole energy. Nor can it be said that his personal, passionate entreaties influenced the Iron Chancellor to execute a few years later the program of the philosopher-agitator at those decisive points of both foreign and domestic policies.<sup>1</sup> But he has a preponderant share in the start of the German social democratic movement. He is the man who grasped and made real the fertile thought when the time came by staking his whole personality. He thus has become the corner-stone to which Münzer claims title. His ideas are a vital force in the social life of modern Germany.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Georg Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle*. Leipzig 1889. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Harms, *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Sozialdemokratie*. Jena 1909. p. 81 f.

Before entering the political arena Lassalle was very happily characterized by Heinrich Heine as a genuine son of the new time, who, not given to the modesty with which the older generation had idiotically idled on, wants to put himself forward amidst the actual world.<sup>1</sup> The "wonder-child" of A. von Humboldt was a man of practical realism, who, rather than being satisfied with the ideas and dreams of "Young Germany," employed his wide knowledge, extraordinary energy and "glowing" patriotism (?) in the attempt to solve the most important political and social problems of his time. A democrat by nature, he was permeated by the thought of Karl Marx, like him a disciple of Hegel, that democracy could maintain its hold and rise into power solely through a connection with the material interests of society. This meant, after the realization of the national aspirations, the championship of the social demands of the working classes in order to hitch the progress of oppressed mankind to the wagon of the democrats' political lust for power. Since 1848 Lassalle was the first in Prussia-Germany to start in this direction at a time when German unification was being prepared without any participation by democracy. Only as a democratic politician striving for power did he become a socialist. Excluded by his social standing, race, and political past from an official position which might have placed at his disposal the forces of the Prussian State for the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes, he founded a socialist party essentially national—for Lassalle's is the German type of socialistic movements—in order to obtain those means which, to his mind, created the possibility of realizing his economic plans. As a socialist he has produced nothing original. But as a politician, as an agitator, as the greatest demagogue German history has known, he has made his greatest personal contribution; it was he, who, at an opportune moment, which but for him might have been lost, started for social democracy in Prussia a political movement which accorded with the innermost trait of his active personality, dominating aristocracy, and which raised questions that have been, so far, only partially answered. The problems he pointed out will tax severely the ingenuity of many generations, and his spirit dominate the future for a long time to come,<sup>2</sup> or, to quote the opinion of the novelist who will be the object of our study :

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Varnhagen von Ense of Jan. 3, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 174.

“(Lassalle) hat sich einen Platz in der Weltgeschichte erobert, den ihm seine ärgsten Feinde lassen müssen . . . der rücksichts- und skrupellos Handelnde, hat die Welt — die deutsche wenigstens — in eine Bewegung gesetzt, zu der die Revolution von 1848 sich verhält wie die Windwelle zur Grundwelle; in eine Bewegung, die heute nicht nur fort dauert, sondern erst jetzt beginnt, ihre mächtige Tiefe und Kraft an den Tag zu legen, und deren Ende kein Verstand der Verständigen abzusehen vermag.”<sup>1</sup>

In his autobiography also, Spielhagen expresses his interest in the personality of Lassalle. While a student in the University of Bonn he went to Cologne to attend the trial, August 5-11, 1848, and heard the eloquent plea of the Democrat whose great future was yet before him. He was captivated by his personality, as Heine had been a short time before, and became one of his most ardent admirers.<sup>2</sup> Since those days the psychological problem, Lassalle, kept the interest of the novelist alive.

At the time of this trial, however, Spielhagen himself could not have foreseen its importance for the future writer of “Zeitromane.” Although following the events of 1848-49 with the keenest interest and understanding, he took no part in the revolutionary actions of his fellow-students. But when he became conscious of the aim of his literary work as a poetical reproduction of the whole of modern life in a form and light, such as the classical poets used for their time,<sup>3</sup> and when circumstances brought him, during his days at Hanover, into friendly relation with the most prominent members of the Nationalverein and, a few years later in Berlin, with the leaders of the Fortschrittspartei, he learned to know politics as the efforts to work and to think to the best of one's power for the welfare of all, and his poetical work, his novels on the modern life of his country, received the stamp of a pronounced political purpose.

What Lassalle was in the field of politics, Spielhagen became in the domain of letters, a great agitator,<sup>4</sup> a poet Representative of the people for whose most sacred and highest interests he henceforth worked honestly and conscientiously.<sup>5</sup> Studying the

<sup>1</sup> F. Spielhagen, *Finder und Erfinder*. I. p. 276 f.

<sup>2</sup> F. Spielhagen, *Freigebornen*. p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Henning, *F. Spielhagen*. Leipzig 1910. p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1910. II. p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Henning, I. c. p. 186; 133. Cp. p. 46.

tendencies of his time he depicts all evils of partisanship with the greatest frankness. When he became the editor of the "Deutsche Wochenschrift," in 1862, he published in this weekly his literary credo, that he would not forget the high dignity of poetry and make political capital out of it. The object of all art, he said in conscious accord with Hamlet's address to the players, is to let Nature look in a mirror, and show Virtue her own traits and Disgrace her own picture, and the age and the body of the time the image of their forms. Only that poet has lived for all times who has satisfied the best of his time when he combines a full understanding of the tendencies of the present with the warmest sympathy for everything that fills it; when he sets his mind on belonging to no party but the party of the good, true and beautiful.<sup>1</sup> From the standpoint of this credo Spielhagen looks at the history of his time, not as an historian who judges its events with the coldest objectivity, but as a son of his time who feels compelled to interfere and fight for his ideals. As Lassalle turns from the dreams of the drawing-room heroes of Young Germany to become a man of action, so the novelist frees himself from the pessimism and materialism of the time of his youth by embracing the belief in the possibility of healing the ailments of his time<sup>2</sup> and, in contrast with the herd-like feeling of his contemporaries, gives expression in his works to his own strong individuality. He treats of those ideas which flow through the national body and stir up the mind and passions of the individual, and opposes them, when necessary, with those which he believes will be wholesome for all.

With the exception of a few articles on political questions,<sup>3</sup> Spielhagen uses the novel as the medium of his agitation. The novel, according to his "Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik," must, like the epic poems of Homer, draw a world-picture in which the acting persons are exclusively characterized by their words and actions, if it intends to be in artistic value the equal of the drama which since the time of Aristotle has been taken to represent the height of poetry. In order to bring on the scene persons full of life, the poet, just like the artist or the sculptor, should use models to which the fire of his imagination must give an artistic form.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 186; 133. Cp. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ziemssen, F. S. Breslau 1880. p. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Spielhagen, Am Wege. Cp. Henning, l. c. p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 162; cp. pp. 126; 46.

How far Spielhagen has attained his aim and successfully proved by practice the correctness of his theory does not concern us here. At all events, he has followed up his theory, and in drawing a picture of the Prussian-German world with its political and social tendencies as he saw them, has used the great democratic exponent of revolutionary and socialistic thoughts as a model for the hero of two of his novels. Besides, Lassalle was a personality which attracted because of his powerful and original intellect, not to speak of his attainments in the realm of learning. We meet the man who stood at the beginning of German social democracy still in Spielhagen's last novel of 1900, "Freigeboren." The heroine of this novel, "free-born," intellectual and noble-minded, emancipated in the best sense of the word, a free-thinker in religious and political matters, follows with passionate interest the conflict between the Prussian Government of 1862 and the Opposition (p. 278); she is in favor of a strong army which will call Austria to account and establish German unity; and in contrast, therefore, with her surrounding company (p. 285) she takes the part of Lassalle, to whom her husband, as a member of the Progressionists, is naturally opposed. We see and hear Lassalle and understand her admiration for his great intellectual gifts (pp. 287, 290, 293) and political activity, his championship of the people's rights, or rather the rights of mankind—for he puts realizable justice in the place of Christ's love (p. 289), but we see also how correct is her judgment of his moral character (p. 291). We have here essentially a repetition of what Spielhagen says about Lassalle in his autobiography<sup>1</sup> and the picture he has drawn is remarkably in agreement with that which Herman Oncken has given us.<sup>2</sup> Here we have the historical person. The novelist makes use of him to show that all ailments and wounds which spring from our nature can not be healed but through this very same nature; that we learn to resign ourselves to find in the world of our thoughts the only treasure of which we can not be deprived, and to bring all forces which slumber in us to the highest possible development. Lassalle is but a subordinate figure in this novel.

It is different with the other novels. There it is the hero who

<sup>1</sup> Finder und Erfinder, I. p. 276-281.

<sup>2</sup> H. Oncken, Lassalle. Stuttgart 1904.

is more or less modelled on Lassalle<sup>1</sup> and the drawing depends both on the tendencies of the novels and the time of their composition. The latter has caused a difference in presenting the life-work of the hero, although the two novels, in a certain sense, form but two chapters of one and the same story. "Die von Hohenstein" appeared in 1863, "In Reih und Glied"<sup>2</sup> in 1866. But the year 1862 signifies a turning point in the life of Lassalle. In April of 1862 he opened his campaign of agitation among the working people. "Die von Hohenstein" can, therefore, show only in a very small measure traces of the most important activity of Lassalle, his agitation proper for the social improvement of the fourth estate, which took place mainly during the two last years of his life, and the large number of writings and speeches which explain his views on the labor question, a number which, considering the short space of time in which they were composed or rendered, is marvelous. Compared with this extraordinary activity the time before 1862 appears but a period of general preparation, and its reflection in DvH gives, consequently, a much more indefinite picture historically than that which the last period of Lassalle's life has produced in IRuG. Moreover, it was a theoretic-æsthetic and practical-poetical principle of the novelist never to bring into his works persons who were living at the time of writing. For this very same reason, he confesses at the time of the eightieth birthday of Prince Bismark, that he never introduced into his novels the man whom, next to Luther and Goethe, he considers to be the greatest German, although he could not avoid making some allusions to him in novels treating events of the present times,<sup>3</sup> and this principle accounts partly, no doubt, for the less definite picture he has drawn of Lassalle in DvH.

In spite of all differences in detail, however, as the types of one novel correspond almost exactly with those of the other; as the social background of the second is but the continuation of the first, so it is the same hero who takes part in, or leads the struggle for the solution of the great social problems of his time as the poet conceives them to be. And this hero reminds one of

<sup>1</sup> Hellmuth Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Braunschweig 1898. p. 294. Henning, l. c. p. 44; 163; 188.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to as DvH and IRuG resp. in the following.

<sup>3</sup> Egbert Müller, *Bismarck im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen*. Berlin 1895; Henning, l. c. p. 217-8.

Lassalle in so many details of personal appearance, character and mind, actions and speech, and incidents of life, evidently suggested by the historical agitator, which would make it an easy task to prove that Spielhagen modelled the figures of Bernhardt Münzer and Leo Gutmann after the great Democrat even if such were not known to be a fact.

Here the novelist uses phrases which, in similar wording, are found in Lassalle; *e. g.*, the latter says in his first great speech before the court: "Auch mein Blick, meine Herren, war seit je vorzugsweise auf die allgemeinen Fragen und Angelegenheiten gerichtet . . ." <sup>3</sup> and Leo (I 525) <sup>1</sup>: "Mein Blick war von Jugend auf unverwandt auf die öffentlichen Interessen gerichtet." Münzer, too, in his great plea utters thoughts of Lassalle in about the same words. <sup>4</sup> In a number of passages, expressions, to which Lassalle has given almost the form of winged words, are put into the mouths of other persons. The point of Archimedes is a favorite of his, and the story of the Greek philosopher and the Roman soldier he recites at a dramatic moment in his speech, "Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter," <sup>2</sup> while Leo is told (I 324; II 507) to find this point in order to lift the world in his sense off its hinges. The "Seiden der Gewalt" become the "Seiden des Prinzen" ("Assisenrede," p. 48; IRuG II 549), the dreadful suffering of the duchess of Praslin, which Lassalle so dramatically mentions in his "Assisenrede," <sup>3</sup> is put into relation with an event in DvH which causes the greatest excitement (525). Other passages, very differently worded, express, after all, the same thoughts; *e. g.*, Lassalle contrasts with demagogic skill the workmen and the bourgeois: "Unter dieser winzigen Handvoll Leute (of the well-to-do) windet sich in stummer unaussprechlicher Qual in wimmelnder Zahl das unbemittelte Volk . . . produziert alles, was uns das Leben verschönt . . ." and Leo, looking from the top of the hill down to the mills (II 275), asks: "Für wen arbeiten die da . . . ? für ihre Kinder, die mit einem Stück trocknen Brodes zu Bett

<sup>1</sup> Figures after Leo or Münzer, respectively, refer to the edition of 1895 of IRuG and DvH.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 249. The data of Lassalle's life having been taken to a greater extent from Oncken's authoritative and comprehensive biography, references will be made to this source only at important points or where it differs from others. Because of its being also easier of access it will be referred to in case it contains such passages from Lassalle's works as may be under discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 16; 17. Oncken, I. c. p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. below p. 69.

gegangen sind? für ihre Weiber, die wenn sie nicht eben in dieser Hölle an irgend eine Maschine geschmiedet sind, zu Hause sitzen und Wäsche stopfen? oder arbeiten sie für den Mann da oben, der die Kunst versteht, aus den Schweißstropfen dieser Aermsten den deliziösesten Champagner zu destillieren . . . ?”

Again, incidents of Lassalle's life serve to complete the narration of Spielhagen. In DvH (21) one of the representative props of the kingdom by the grace of God is offended because some young men of the working class travelling on the same boat cheer Schleswig-Holstein and the future German republic. This cheer is received as an insult, and reminds one in the context of the novel, of the insults which Frederic William IV suffered in Düsseldorf in August, 1848, and which were for a long time imputed to the machinations of Lassalle. The little scrap of paper which Tusky leaves at Leo's house (II 463) makes the reader think of the short note Marx sent Lassalle in September, 1861.<sup>2</sup> The great liberty enjoyed during his short imprisonment by Leo, who, for years, has been implicated in high treason affairs like Lassalle (I 54), recalls that of the latter after his speech at Neuss (II 121). Antonie von Hohenstein tries to persuade Münzer to take a trip with her to the Orient (462) to draw him away from politics, and Leo, too, is advised to take such a trip; Lassalle did so in September, 1856. The great reception which Leo is given on his arrival at Tuchheim by the working people who have come from afar to greet him as the man who is going to free them from their wretchedness (II 317) is a picture of Lassalle's triumphal tour in the Rhenish provinces during the spring of 1864.<sup>3</sup> Always noble-minded and never petty — “Das schickt sich nicht”<sup>4</sup> — the great Democrat considers money for what it is worth. As an independent man of means and of refined taste, he lived in a way which surpassed the average mode of life of the Berliners at that time. He kept a house furnished luxuriously and his Liberal adversaries often mocked at the leader of the workmen because of his expensive habits. This is no doubt reflected in the depicting of the luxurious home of Leo (I 353; II 325) and the fondness of the Democrat for visiting beautiful public houses in the evening (I 313). He, too, scandalizes his

1 “Die indirekte Steuer”; Oncken, I. c. p. 363.

2 Oncken, I. c. p. 231.

3 Oncken, I. c. p. 404.

4 Oncken, I. c. p. 392; 403. Cp. below p. 108.

Liberal opponents by his love of luxury (I 353). But to Leo money is rubbish (II 325; 465; 497), as it was to Lassalle.

Other happenings of the latter's life can be pointed out as being reflected in these novels when we take into account Spielhagen's habit, especially in his earliest works, of denoting historical persons by names resembling their real ones,<sup>1</sup> and employ this as a key for finding the names of persons used as models and their connection with the great agitator. Lassalle's name itself would seem to have furnished those of the heroes of the novels under consideration. Thus we surmise Ferdinand became Bernhardt and Lassalle Leo,<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Lassalle being, so to speak, the common root of Bernhardt Münzer, the hero of DvH and Leo Gutmann, that of IRuG. The countess Sophie Hatzfeldt, who was the dominant influence, the fate of Lassalle's life and whom he declares, as late at July, 1864, to be necessary to his existence, appears as Antonie von Hohenstein in DvH, and it seems to us that after the same principle the name Hohenstein springs from the combination of H(atzfeldt and Sch)önstein. The latter was an estate of the Hatzfeldts on the Rhine, the farmers of which, in November, 1848, were urged by Lassalle to take up arms when, as he expected, a new outbreak of the revolution should take place. Appearing as Rheineck<sup>4</sup> in DvH, it allows Münzer and his friends, under the protection of Antonie, to pursue their revolutionary plans. Although, according to the Almanach de Gotha, Hohenstein is part of the princely family name of Sayn-Witgenstein, our assumption seems to be supported by the fact that Münzer fights against the principle represented by the Hohensteins as Lassalle does against that of the Hatzfeldts.<sup>3</sup> Of other names occurring in the novels only that of Ferdinand Lippert need here be mentioned. We recognize in him the Indentanturrat Fabrice, who, after having in vain challenged Lassalle, attacked him unexpectedly in the Tiergarten at Berlin in May, 1858, and met with a very successful defense on his part. Ferdinand's attack on Leo (I 532-35) occurs under similar circumstances and with the same results.

Lassalle's personality itself is easily recognized in those of our heroes. Besides being the model for many traits in the drawing

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cp., however, below p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. below p. 29 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The name of a castle on the left bank of the Rhine between Bonn and Coblenz.

of the intellectual and moral natures of Münzer<sup>1</sup> and Leo, his outward appearance has served the novelist. Especially in the description of the face, both novelist and biographers agree if we disregard the little difference that Leo has brown eyes instead of the dark blue eyes of Lassalle and Münzer.<sup>2</sup> Oncken describes the head of Lassalle as that of Goethe translated into the Semitic (p. 341), in "Freigebornen" (p. 290), it is the head of Cæsar, and to others the agitator looked the personification of defiance but as carrying so much energy on his face that it would have surprised nobody if he had conquered a throne.<sup>3</sup> So Münzer's haughty imperious eyes accord with his face, behind the forehead of which "his kingdom" lies (166); they are filled with his great mind and courage (298). From Leo's forehead shine forth the marks of great original thoughts (I 265); like Lassalle, he attracts attention because he looks different from others, something beyond the ordinary, which greatly commands respect, lies in his face (I 316; 68). But poetical considerations have caused the novelist to ascribe to his heroes figures which one is apt to fancy the leaders of men should have. Lassalle, according to a police description of 1848, was only 5 feet 6 inches tall and of a slender figure. The heroine of "Freigebornen" (290) speaks of his height although she qualifies it by slenderness. Münzer has a mighty form, broad shoulders and a high-arched chest, so that one would have liked to imagine him at the head of a troop impelled to throw themselves irresistibly upon the hostile batteries (298).<sup>4</sup> Leo, too, has a powerful physique. It is, however, not strong enough to carry the burden of his work and must be fortified by medicaments, just as Lassalle's vigorous nature, always mistreated, needed frequent refreshing. His voice, too, has for the same reason been changed into the soft low voices of Münzer<sup>5</sup> and Leo. For the voice of the historical

<sup>1</sup> But also the personality and life of J. G. Kinkel have furnished the author material for his novel. When Spielhagen and his friend, Carl Schurz, were attending the University of Bonn, Kinkel held the chair of literature. The intimate relation which sprang up between Kinkel and Schurz is reflected in the friendship of Münzer and Wolfgang von Hohenstein. Cp. below p. 39; 55.

<sup>2</sup> Münzer wears a black beard. Carl Schurz says in his *Lebenserinnerungen*, Berlin, of Kinkel: "Unter seiner von schwarzem Haupthaar beschatteten Stirn leuchtete ein paar dunkler Augen hervor, deren Feuer selbst durch eine Brille nicht gedämpft wurde. Mund und Kinn waren von einem schwarzen Vollbart umrahmt."

<sup>3</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Schurz, l. c. "Kinkel war ein auffallend schöner Mann, von regelmässigen Gesichtszügen und von herkulischem Körperbau, über 6 Fuss gross, strotzend von Kraft."

<sup>5</sup> Schurz, l. c. "Kinkel besass eine wundervolle Stimme, zugleich stark und weich, hoch und tief, gewaltig und rührend in ihren Tönen, schmelzend wie die Flöte und schmetternd wie die Posaune, als umfasste sie alle Register der Orgel."

agitator was in every-day speech high pitched and shrill; he stammered also slightly. When he appeared in public these defects, however, were not noticeable, his voice sounding strong and beautiful.<sup>1</sup>

But there are also many diversities both in the drawing of character and in the narration. We have remarked on Spielhagen's understanding of his poetical office. He did not assume the rôle of the historian when he undertook to write novels on the modern life of his country. The novelist is to him a poet and a preacher, a pedagogue, an agitator. Consequently the poetical conception is with him in many, if not all, instances combined with the purpose, the "Tendenz." Beside historical facts or a series of historical events, clearly and chronologically rendered in our novels, others are found arranged in conflict with chronology or intermingled with fiction. While the sickness of the king and the Southern war, for example, are placed at the close of Leo's career, they stand historically at the beginning of Lassalle's epochal political activity. Leo's duel, which was to put an end to his, and the accompanying circumstances furnish a good example for the way in which the novelist blends in some cases facts with fiction. Spielhagen makes use of Lassalle's duel in all its details. But the narration of Leo's presents a very different picture. The parts, so to speak, of this tragedy are completely changed. Ferdinand challenges Leo principally because he considers him his successful rival in the affection of the girl he loves and thus plays the part of Lassalle. But Leo cares nothing for her, nor has he the passion for his fiancée which the historical Democrat felt for Helene von Dönniges, who, of semi-Jewish extraction, in her way of thinking and willing, in her passion—she would speak of Lassalle as "Mein Adler," which term is also used in IRuG I 512; II 106—and in her fickleness is evidently the model for the drawing of Emma von Sonnenstein. The passion to which Lassalle gives expression in his letters to his friends and the Countess Hatzfeldt and which he proved by his actions is reflected in Leo's love for Silvia (II 550). This flames up like that of Lassalle and makes him forget to care for the success of his political work and future. With Lassalle the thoughts of his new party, just formed, politics and studies pale. His mind is concentrated on finding the means

<sup>1</sup> "Freigebohren," p. 290; Brandes, l. c. p. 93.

to recapture the girl who has given him up, and Leo's whole aims are directed to win his cousin when she has refused him. When Lassalle at last sees that all his efforts are in vain his love-madness and vanity turn into the only feeling he can have now because of his nature, the desire to revenge himself on his successful rival, and Leo, after Silvia's death, has this same feeling in a pronounced way. He is also sure, like Lassalle, that he shall kill his adversary, but, nevertheless, he enters the duel—one of the seconds is Baron von Kerkow (II 608), who may correspond to Colonel Rüstow, who assisted Lassalle in his duel—like the latter to whom the words of Münzer about himself would seem to apply—a remarkable prophesy on the part of Spielhagen—namely, that he wished in an honorable and fitting way to leave this world, because of the unhappiness in his heart and the inability to subdue the storm he had aroused (574-75).<sup>1</sup> Some other minor correspondences and differences in the narration of this duel, showing how the author combined facts and fiction, must be passed by here.

On the other hand, where it would seem as though the novelist gave fiction pure and simple, instead of historical facts, a closer examination may prove that it is but a poetical dress covering actions and thoughts of Lassalle. This is, for instance, the case in Leo's position towards the king and his alliance with the representative of the church.

The greatest differences are found naturally where the purpose of the novelist required a change of the historical data. While the intellectual qualities of Lassalle could be fittingly introduced in the novels, whether by making him an author—Münzer has written books (118) and poems<sup>2</sup> and Leo's pamphlets will occupy our attention more fully—or as possessed of the gift of a "stupendous" presence of mind and quickness of repartee—Leo (II 132; 142, etc.); Münzer (316-17, etc.)—the moral traits of his character have found in parts a different expression. Again, for the same reason, thoughts or speeches of Lassalle have in Spielhagen some times an aspect under which they were not uttered actually, or they are assigned purposes by which Lassalle was not governed. It is evident that the novelist intended these changes, for he shows even here his remarkable intimacy with

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Brandes, I. c. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Kinkel was also a poet. Cp. below p. 163.

Lassalle's life and political activity. The more the political-social work of the great Democrat is in question, the greater are the differences between Spielhagen's narration and history.

An examination into the correspondences and discrepancies existing between the novels and the political-social work of Lassalle, therefore, must lead to a better understanding of the purpose of Spielhagen in writing these novels. For these novels mean after all the author's balancing accounts with Lassalle; they are his agitation for the means he has to propose for the solution of the social problems in opposition to him. Such an examination has also a practical value. There was a time when these two great agitators stood rather low in the estimation of the majority of their German fellow-citizens after their first great successes. When we put in the place of the shibboleth "The living Lassalle against the dead Schulze-Delitzsch," under which J. B. von Schweitzer continued the work of the great socialistic Democrat, the cry "The living Lassalle against the dead Marx," which is more frequently uttered in Germany today—on February 8, 1911, for the first time in the Reichstag, the national attitude of some social democrats was proved by the fact that their representatives in the budget committee did not vote against an increase of the army, an act which strict partisans of Marx would never have performed—we can point out also the evident fact that Spielhagen today again finds a juster appreciation. Not only have those younger talents who in the eighties and nineties of the past century pronounced themselves the literary adversaries of our novelist learned from him in many points, but a large number among them frankly admit their indebtedness to him for what he taught them in literary art. The present generation is ready to judge rightly his great and many merits.<sup>1</sup>

In examining Lassalle's political-social activity as it appears in DvH and IRuG, however, in showing its correspondences and differences and giving, as the case may be, the explanation for the latter, it will not always be possible, unless the wording warrants it, to state with absolute certainty that all correspondences which appear to have their sources in the works of Lassalle have actually been drawn from them. Many thoughts are found in Lassalle's words and in the novels which had been uttered before him and were the common property of his time.<sup>2</sup> In some

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 163; 207-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. e. g. Oncken, l. c. p. 224-26.

cases we shall be surprised to see that Spielhagen by dint of a remarkable gift of divination or because of first-hand information, has recorded thoughts of the great Democrat before they were published or discovered by historians of a later date, and that he expresses as motives for certain actions forces which over against older opinions are affirmed by the newest investigations. In a few cases we must be satisfied with merely pointing out certain parallels.

# *The Political Life and Works of Ferdinand Lassalle as a Source for "Die von Hohenstein" and "In Reih und Glied."*

## I.

### INFLUENCES DETERMINING THE CAREERS OF LASSALLE, MÜNZER AND LEO.

#### 1.

Hermann Oncken in writing the biography of Lassalle starts out from the principle that the time of youth in which a personality develops in unrestrained naturalness offers the key for the understanding of the later man of letters or politics, inasmuch as it contains those general and lastingly active premises, everything which depends on extraction, moral-intellectual pre-disposition, the influence of family and bringing up, on the political atmosphere of the State and public sentiment, in fact, the whole sum of influences under which an individual is formed. Forty years before the biographer of Lassalle undertook his work, Spielhagen gave on the same principle, especially in the case of Leo, an admirable drawing of the influences which determined the development of our two heroes in their youthful years and spurred them on to devote their lives to the cause of their people. If, roughly speaking, we can say that certain dominant traits in Lassalle's intellectual-moral make-up, the wrongs and injustice of social conditions which he himself suffers or sees others undergo, and socialistic teachings have led him to that political activity which was to secure his prominent position in history, the very same influences are quite fully reflected in the novels, though not in the same degree, in each of the two principal figures. While Münzer is compelled, because of his own sufferings and the bad social conditions of the majority of his fellow-men, to attempt the uplift of his people, it is less Leo's own misery than some pronounced traits of his character and the

influence of persons with whom he comes into contact that determine his career. But in respect to intellect, temperament and character Münzer and Leo are the alter-egos of Lassalle wherever Spielhagen's tendency or poetical requirements did not necessitate some different drawing.

## 2.

Heinrich Heine, in his letter to Varnhagen von Ense, mentioned above, praises the young Lassalle, who had just made his first trip to Paris, for his eminent intellectual gifts, for the most thorough learning, most extensive knowledge, greatest sagacity, and the richest talent for expression that he ever found. How rightly the poet judged the young student, both the learned works and smaller writings of the adult sufficiently attest. Lassalle was endowed with abilities which even in branches where he was but an autodidact surpassed by far those of the average specialist. With his great gifts of intelligence and learning was combined an eloquence that charmed every one.<sup>1</sup> Even Bismarck could not throw off this charm of Lassalle's personality; he declared in the Reichstag September, 1878, that he always regretted the end of his interviews with this "so energetic and intelligent" man although they lasted for hours.<sup>2</sup> The same gifts are Münzer's and Leo's. Münzer is extraordinarily talented, a savant and a speaker who carries every one with him (66; 481),<sup>3</sup> and Leo, whose father, unable to understand the world, studies himself blind that his son may acquire the greatest knowledge, is so "awfully" learned that, young as he is, he is ready to be promoted to the highest class of the Gymnasium at any time (I 5). He is expected to accomplish something great in life (I 25), and makes good when he enters on his political career by impressing the people because of his surpassing knowledge and manners of the world (I 280; 365). He is endowed with a keen penetrating mind, a clear understanding and an always active brain (I 13; 103). A master of language, the boy knows how to shape his words so finely and pointedly that it is difficult to get the better of him (I 185), a gift of Lassalle's

<sup>1</sup> Freigebohren, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 72; Oncken, l. c. p. 342; 349.

<sup>3</sup> So was Kinkel. Cp. the account of his plea in Schurz's *Lebenserinnerungen*, and below p. 69 notes 4 and 5.

which his adversaries in politics or at his trials sufficiently experienced. Leo learns easily, for he is a genius (I 49; 51).

But, precocious scholar that he is, he studies because he knows that knowledge is power (I 30), and only a means to attain some ends. This corresponds exactly with Lassalle's attitude toward learning. It is true, no man ever had a deeper, more unselfish and enthusiastic interest in learning and literature than he. But at the same time he was made for that learning which stands in the service of progress and revolts against everything that is supported only by authority,<sup>1</sup> and he saw in the possession of this learning a key which might open him the road to power. His love of power, which manifested itself from an early date, when he lorded it over the members of his family<sup>1</sup>, to the last moments of his life when he writes that it is an absolute necessity with him that whoever stand near him be merged into his will,<sup>2</sup> in union with a deep passion for glory and honor, with the desire to be admired and praised, with a mania for display, sought a field when he became a man. All his strength and weakness were concentrated in the impetuous longing to rise above the common crowd and to stake his all for the highest; Fame. Bismarck later testified to the largeness of the ambition which, like fire, consumed Lassalle. It was a thirst for fame which, with all positive efforts, must always think of itself and create a noisy *mise en scène*. But despite this unpleasant admixture it was the ambition of a great personality,<sup>3</sup> which manifested itself also in Lassalle's study of Heraclitus. In the Greek philosopher he found the herald of fame which only the best of mortals prefer to all other things. But Heraclitus, in whose nature there was storm,<sup>4</sup> was also, because of this very same trait congenial to Lassalle, the impetuous apostle of the present time, as Brandes calls him, and his "glowing" heart, passionate soul, proud and fiery temper are also Münzer's. Münzer, always striving, contending, is driven by ambition and the thought of that happiness and reward which are found in the thousandfold applause with which a grateful people leads its tribune from the forum into the senate (151); and the passionate, impetuous Leo who has the ambition to do great things (I 11) has in his career nothing

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 12; 11.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. Berlin, 1857, Bd. I 51; Bd. II 443.

to lose but the fame among his contemporaries and posterity, fame which the poet (Heraclitus?) calls the highest of all earthly goods (II 488). Proud and haughty (I 8), feeling in early youth like a man (I 12) who knows what he is doing (I 147) and shows more intelligence and energy than most men (I 147), he combines this passionate hunger for recognition (I 109) with the lust for power, but in contrast to that of Lassalle it is a longing for power which has been planted in him by the tyrannic hand of his father, who has brought him up to become rich and powerful, to drive before him the rabble of village boys like a flock of sheep (I 29).

For reaching the goal of his ambition, Lassalle was well provided with a pronounced self-reliance, a belief in the power of his mind to overcome all obstacles, with a restless impulse to act, a want of consideration which attacks the goal without fearing any resistance or shunning any means,<sup>1</sup> with a will that seemed to seek the greatest difficulties only to remove them from his path<sup>2</sup> and a tenacity which resisted to the uttermost any effort to drive him from ground on which he once had put his foot.<sup>1</sup> A man of iron will Münzer is, too, who shows an indefatigable energy in living for his work (276-77; 460); he is conscious of the power of his mind; the only forces with which he rules are those of the kingdom which lies behind his forehead, between the narrow walls of his skull (166). He feels in himself also the necessity and impulse to act and work upon a large scale (410), and to urge his friends to do likewise (124). He wishes for danger that he may rush into it (278), against the advice of his circumspect friends. Münzer's desire to work on a large scale is shared by Leo (I 11). He does not want to acquire knowledge for himself. He wants to use it in the interest of others; he wants to become learned to teach, strong to help, and wise to counsel others. He has, to accomplish this, Lassalle's energy which could gain anything by using his enormous intellectual powers ad hoc.<sup>3</sup> He knows his strong personality and is, like his prototype, not impressed forcibly by any haughty looks (I 367); he feels an unlimited power within him, it seems to him as if he has only to will to move mountains. As his

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 11; 24; 30; Oncken, l. c. p. 23; 93.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage*. 1879. p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 371.

father is going to die ere long he must make his way alone through this world; he wants it—and he will accomplish it; not for himself, for he does not think of himself. He has the will to learn English and to inure himself to the great sun-heat to be endured when he shall preach the gospel among the heathen in the desert (I 11; 10; 57). For he has the intention to become a preacher of the Lord and to proclaim the message of joy and peace, eternal peace. What he does is only a means to this great end. He would like to be the Pope or, at least, the general of the Jesuits, in order to do on a large scale what others do on a small one and in detail (I 11). What the boy promised he fulfills in the days of manhood. His energy compels him to endure the hardships of the weather (I 351), to go resolutely on to reach the high aims he seeks, and to remove vigorously the obstacles from his path or to turn them skillfully (I 299). In this desire to work for the great public a reflection may be found of Lassalle's individuality which prevented him, like Münzer (732), from becoming the shy scholar, who with complacent smile declares his study to be his world, or from seeing in learning and scientific work his only true purpose of life, and made him strive for an influential position of his own in a great, practical-political, reformative activity. Passionate, imperious, like Münzer (164), a kind of titanic nature for whom combat is the native element,<sup>1</sup> Lassalle believed himself to be called to be one of the spiritual leaders of his nation, one of those great reformers who, by proclaiming and disseminating new ideas, bring about great revolutions, great progresses, new epochs in the history of the world.<sup>2</sup>

## 3.

A man of the moral-intellectual nature of Lassalle might be expected to turn his activities in the direction where he could find relief for his own dissatisfaction with the social conditions under which he lived. Free from the miserable cares of the poor, he was the child of a race which had been emancipated only in a certain measure in consequence of the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Common equality of men, depending

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 12.

neither on religious creed or descent, nor social standing, as realized through the French revolution, had been carried in the train of the victories of Napoleon into German countries and was partly retained there after the fall of the French empire. When, during the Restauration, the old historic forces of state, society and church again became effective, and in Prussia especially, Romanticism sat on the throne and publicly showed in unroyal invectives its hostility to the Jews<sup>1</sup>, their emancipation produced sharp contrasts within the social body, above all in the East whence Lassalle had come. The tendencies of the half or wholly emancipated Jews opposed themselves as negative and decomposing forces to the strengthened historical forces which, in return, took a more hostile attitude toward Jewish emancipation. These Jews became atheistic and materialistic, and politically preferred, and strove for, a cosmopolitism which succeeded better in a Napoleonic world-empire than in a world of people who had been fortified by a national uprising. Their most advanced elements became radicals. They worked for an improvement of their social conditions in connection with the Liberal parties of opposition to whom their efforts were sympathetic as a part of the general bourgeois struggle for freedom from what had remained of feudal institutions and police tutelage, and they hoped for the influence of the French July revolution upon the German States and for the complete emancipation of the Jews who, in Prussia, were still excluded from official state, academic and school positions. Their common Conservative opponents, however, insisted on the Christian character of the State and found their support in that instinct of hostility towards the Jews which pervaded the large masses as well as many of the most intellectual of the Prussian upper classes.

This attitude of the Conservatives, especially that of the "Junkers," who looked down on the Jew with sovereign contempt,<sup>2</sup> is excusable in that the many social evils in city and country showed the Jew in a different light than that which the Liberals assumed. There had been hardly any social emancipation, especially in the East. Here the Jews had not adapted themselves to the intellectual and moral culture of their christian-

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<sup>1</sup> Th. Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1910. p. 550.  
<sup>2</sup> Ziegler, *l. c.* p. 557.

German surroundings and were, under their thin varnish of German nationality, not more advanced than their Russian relatives. They were still given to usury and cheating, to money, and were under the influence of everything which presupposes such occupation, to use words of Marx from 1843. It is from this sphere that Lassalle came, his family standing still very low in German civilization. The more, however, the progressive Jews took part in the general economic and cultural rise of the middle class, in a word became Germanized, the more keenly they felt the pressure of social disrespect from which they could not emancipate themselves equally quick, and it was only natural that from among them should come the large number of recruits who worked for the revolution of 1848.<sup>1</sup> How deeply Lassalle himself felt the pressure of public hostility to the Jews and suffered under this social injustice is evident from the confession found in the diary of the boy of 14. He writes: "I could risk my life to rescue the Jews from their oppressive conditions. I should not fear even the scaffold if I could make them an esteemed people again. It is always my favorite idea, with arms in my hands at the head of the Jews to make them independent."

It is easy to see that such pronounced Jewish wishes and thoughts were not conducive to smoothing Lassalle's path at school. Indeed, his Jewish character and manners made him, despite his talents, very much disliked by everybody while attending the Gymnasium at Breslau, his native city. The jeering hints at his descent made him disgusted with school. He did everything to escape this "horrible" position. He made up his mind to become a merchant, but with the firm determination to devote himself more to the Muses than to business; to think more of liberty than of the prices of the goods; to curse more violently the dogs of aristocrats who rob man of his first and highest good than competition which spoils the prices. "Aber beim Verwünschen," he writes, "solls nicht bleiben." He changes to a commercial school at Leipzig, but here he has the same experiences. He is on the worst terms possible with teachers, students and even with the people in his boarding-house; and that for the very same reasons.

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 4-11.

But here in Leipzig a new period of Lassalle's development sets in. He continues his cursing of the Christians and expresses his belief in the nearness of the time when the Jews will advance by shedding the blood of their enemies. He swears eternal hatred against teachers and classmates who have become his adversaries. But it is here at Leipzig that Lassalle, without giving up thinking and feeling as a Jew, strips off, because of his distance from the Jewish atmosphere of Breslau, the most pronounced traits of the Jew. He begins to acquire German culture, and his thoughts are, as a matter of course, guided by the writings of those German-Jewish authors who in literature and politics gave the true expression to the general feeling of opposition. It is in Leipzig that Lassalle, during the summer of 1840, absorbs the radical thoughts of the time by reading Heine and Börne and thus furnishes his own thoughts with a much more definite content. His slumbering, political instincts are feverishly awakened, and his diary is filled now with bloody tirades against princes and tyrants and aristocrats. While they express a pure genuine feeling they voice a passionate opposition to any kind of oppression which he himself feels in the barriers erected by his descent. He intends to become a journalist in order to send forth, like Leo, from Paris, the land of Liberty, as did Börne, the word to all nations, and all princes shall chatter with their teeth and see their time has come . . . with the thrones prejudices must break . . . Such pronounced revolutionary republican sentiments are sometimes in conflict with strong leanings toward aristocracy, however. He writes July 19, 1841:

"Wäre ich als Prinz oder Fürst geboren, ich würde mit Leib und Leben Aristokrat sein. So aber, da ich bloss ein schlichter Bürgersohn bin, werde ich seinerzeit Demokrat sein." But four weeks later he adds: "Aber nein, ich will, obwohl ich auch dazu Talent hätte, kein feiger Hofschranze werden. Ich will den Völkern die Freiheit verkünden, und sollte ich auch im Versuche untergehen.<sup>1</sup> Ich schwöre es bei Gott unter den Sternen, und Fluch mir, wenn ich je meinem Schwur untreu werde."

A short time before this was entered in his diary, Lassalle had an interview with his father to obtain his permission for preparing himself for a journalistic career at the University of his

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 47; 104.

home city. "For now is the time in which one fights for the holiest objects of mankind." When his father expresses his grief at his son, the only hope of his parents, becoming a martyr, he answers:

"Wenn jeder so spräche, so feig sich zurückzöge, wann würde dann ein Kämpfer aufstehen? Warum soll ich gerade zum Märtyrer werden? Weil Gott mir die Stimme in die Brust gelegt, die mich aufruft zum Kampfe, weil Gott mir die Kraft gegeben, ich fühle es, die mich befähigt zum Kampfe. Weil ich für einen edlen Zweck kämpfen und leiden kann. Weil ich Gott um die Kraft, die er mir zu bestimmten Zwecken gegeben, nicht betrügen will. Weil ich mit einem Wort nicht anders kann. Der Vater will mich studieren lassen und wehrt mir die heilige durchwehende Idee, die er Liberalismus nennt. Als wenn nicht gerade sie es wäre, die mich zum Studium treibt, sie, um die ich kämpfen will, und ohne die ich lieber geblieben wäre, was ich bin." It is clear that this confession in his diary shows Lassalle at this period of his development as none but a partisan of the large Old Liberalism which contained in its folds everything which meant freedom of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Still more important factors entered Lassalle's life after his return to Breslau, where, in the shortest time and with the greatest energy, he prepared himself for the University. The political life of the city was anything but quiet. The city government had, in the provincial House of Representatives, recommended a summoning of imperial estates, but the king on a visit to Breslau had declared that no power on earth could force him to give his consent. The oppositional temper of the people was increased by an economic distress of an extent so far unheard of in Prussia, which was setting in in Silesia. The dreadful misery in the homes of working men in the casemates of Breslau became public concern, and the hunger and want of the Silesian weavers, which was to lead in April, 1844, to a bloody uprising, showed that the forces of old Prussia failed almost completely in the face of new social questions. What till then had been only personal opposition to the structure of society from the viewpoint of a suppressed and despised race, was broadened into a deeper understanding of, and interest in, general economic conditions on

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<sup>1</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 18.

the part of Lassalle. It gave the background for all his insurgent temper, which, after having for the first time experienced the conservative forces of the State (when it was about to exclude him from taking the "Abiturientenexamen" on account of his having voiced very radical opinions in his German essay), was to find new nourishment on his entering the University and becoming a member of a Burschenschaft. This students' club was very radical. Social questions were frequently discussed, although without prejudice and class-hatred. To the time of his membership in this Burschenschaft Lassalle later traced his first socialistic views.

A still greater factor, however, was to lay its hold on him in his University days. He came under the influence of that mind which was to shape his whole thinking to the last of his life. The philosophy of Hegel and the radical consequences for science and politics which his disciples drew from the teachings of their master gave Lassalle's public activity its character. The mastery of Hegelian dialectics, although it plunged him from one self-deception into another and represented to him a world existing only in his thoughts, gave him at the same time his firm belief in himself and an infinite strength for the political contest even when this was hopeless, as during the last years of his life. It was of a nature to invite Lassalle to shape actual conditions rationally by dint of his thoughts, and influence, consequently, the political life of the present. But Hegel's philosophy furnished him also the spiritual contents for the emancipation of the working classes.<sup>1</sup>

A political and philosophical radical, like the other Junghegelians, the most pitiless critic of all conditions existing in state and society, Lassalle, after having concluded his studies in Berlin, was thinking of applying for admission as Privatdozent in the University when he saw all human rights violated in the plight of a stranger, the Countess Hatzfeldt. By nature made to live and act on a large scale, Destiny takes hold of him and throws him into the arena of public life, as Münzer says of himself (410). Lassalle recognizes in this case no individual casual event, but a general fate; behind this "individuelles Los und Leiden, welches so innig es ein individueller Fall nur immer

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 24-25; 436; 100.

vermag, gleich einem Mikrokosmos, das allgemeine Leiden, die zu Grabe gehende Misère und Unterdrückung in sich abspiegelt," the abused rights of humanity. He sees in this affair general points of view and principles embodied; he believes that there is a large number of other unfortunate ones who sigh under the same or similar miseries. He says to himself that the countess is a victim of her station in life; that only one (her husband) in the haughty position of a prince and millionaire could dare commit without fear such misdeeds, such wrongs to society in its moral depth; what power false pretense is, "welche furchtbaren Gegner Rang, Einfluss und Reichtum sind und sie nur stets Allianzen finden in den Reihen der Bürokratie."<sup>1</sup> He searches for the social cause of the wrong and directs his attacks against the cause. He decides upon opposing truth to false pretense, right to class-distinction, the power of mind to that of money. And since youth, "wie sehr auch unsere Zeit die des Egoismus sein mag, doch zu allen Zeiten das Alter der Uneigennützigkeit, der Begeisterung und Aufopferungsfähigkeit gewesen ist und sein wird,"<sup>1</sup> he follows the impulse of confronting power with inherent right and rushes into the fight for his ideals.

## 4.

It is, then, Lassalle's own suffering under a social differentiation on account of his being the child of a race which was still felt to be foreign matter in the national body, his acquaintance with the sufferings of others for reasons which sprang also out of class-distinction or bad economic conditions, and lastly, the studies and socialistic influences which he underwent that shaped his intellectual-moral qualities, eager to find a field for action in that direction which should make him the eminent factor he is in the political-social development of Modern Germany. When we separate the poetical expression from the underlying thoughts we find that Spielhagen gives the same social causes for determining the public activities of Münzer and Leo.

It is no race antipathy, for Münzer is a Catholic in a preponderatingly Catholic country, but his birth in the very lowest

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<sup>1</sup> "Der Kriminalprozess wider mich wegen der Verleumdung zum Kassettendiebstahl, etc." Köln 1848; Oncken, l. c. p. 50 ff.

stratum of society both financially and culturally which lies at the bottom of his political development. While Lassalle, as the son of a well-to-do merchant, was at least materially protected against the hardships of life, Münzer's parents were poor wine-growers (on the Eifel plateau?) who passed their lives sighing under the burden of heavy baskets in which they had to carry loam up to the terraces of the jagged Schieferberg that yields every second or third year a small harvest of miserable grapes. They died of hunger and sorrow (166) and Münzer himself would have suffered the same fate if the priest of the nearest village—the only true priest he ever knew—had not taken charge of him like a father and shared with him his scanty bread and scanty learning. When he could teach the boy nothing more he sent him (to Köln?<sup>1</sup>) to school with a blessing and the parting words that he would fare well if he always remained pious and industrious. In the city Münzer becomes the butt of his schoolmates who are economically better situated; the elegant Junkers and well-fed sons of merchants mock at him, they call him the "Eifel-wolf," because he is so haggard and hollow-eyed and his clothes threadbare and patched. Thus class-distinctions as the outward expression of an unjust differentiation of society lie as heavily on Münzer as they lay on Lassalle. At times he feels very "wolfish;" human society appears to him as a large, fat, stupid flock which he hates with the grim hatred of a wolf hungry for revenge.

His economic misery causes him to leave piety to itself and pay more attention to industry, and in observing the bad actions of men after he has lost his belief in the existence of a God or a devil, whom he might hold responsible for their wicked actions, he says to himself that if men are bad through themselves they can be good through themselves, and if they are not good, the cause of human wickedness may be found and must be sought in deeply hidden sores of state and society, for the existence of which not the individual who shares in them unwittingly and against his will, but mankind collectively is responsible (167). And these sores he sees in the division of the people of the century into two very unequal parts, in the many called and the few selected, in the knowing and the ignorant, in priest and

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<sup>1</sup> Below p. 40.

laity. Relinquishing all happiness so far as he is concerned, he takes, like Lassalle, a holy oath to devote himself to the greatest and noblest task of closing the dark and frightful gap which opens in the midst of us like that legendary abyss in the Roman Forum and which, like this, can only then be filled up when we throw our most precious treasures into it; when we use our noblest powers of mind and heart to reconcile men and make what, after all, is still the exclusive property of a few, the common property of all (167-68).

Lassalle, too, has applied this legendary abyss to social questions when, in his historic drama, "Franz von Sickingen" (Berlin, 1859), he voices through the mouth of Ulrich von Hutten his opinion that the gap which rends the century can be closed only by the best men throwing their lives into it.<sup>1</sup> Evidently this drama had quite an influence on Spielhagen when he wrote DvH as will be shown later, and when we consider a passage in a speech of Lassalle of January 16, 1863, held, therefore, before the publication of DvH, in which he says:

"Sind Sie so sicher, dass nie wieder eine politische Erschütterung zurückkehren wird? Wollen Sie dann wieder Leben und Eigentum in der Hand (of thoughtless and ignorant agitators as in the spring of 1848) wissen? Wenn nicht, so danken Sie den Männern, die sich der Arbeit gewidmet haben, jenen Abgrund auszufüllen, welcher wissenschaftliches Denken und wissenschaftliche Sprache von dem Volke trennt,—danken Sie jenen Männern, welche auf Kosten ihrer eigenen geistigen Anstrengungen eine Arbeit übernommen haben, deren Resultate dann Ihnen allen und jedem einzelnen von Ihnen zugute kommen! Speisen Sie diese Männer auf dem Prytaneion—und stellen Sie sie nicht unter Anklage," it would seem that Spielhagen was influenced by Lassalle<sup>2</sup> to represent Münzer in the beginning of his career as intent on closing the gap between the knowing and the ignorant rather than between rich and poor, as both the drama and the passage just quoted have more intellectual ethical aims than economic ones. It is only in Münzer's later development that his socialistic aims become manifest.

<sup>1</sup> Brandes l. c. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter." Zürich 1863. p. 24. Oncken, l. c. p. 251. Cp. a similar passage in "Die indirekte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen," Oncken, p. 365. This speech, however, was delivered only Oct. 12, 1863.

In order to heal the sores of state and society Münzer becomes a revolutionary agitator. He has surely heart enough to be touched by the pictures of poverty and misery which daily meet his eyes, and to be tortured by the hoarse voices of hunger and sorrow which resounded even around his cradle (730-31). Yet he knows nothing of such a deep love as to the last<sup>1</sup> bound Lassalle and the members of his family to one another and is driven to better social conditions less by noble enthusiasm and love for his fellow-men than is his prototype, even if the latter had some additional motives. He applies himself not from love of knowledge and power, like Lassalle, but principally from ambition which makes him bear hunger and the mockery of his schoolmates; he perseveres from the wish to become omniscient, to have the power to revenge himself for this mockery, and in his political activity he is led by the interest of the physician in the patient. His love for his fellow-man does not spring from his heart but from his mind and reason (168). In spite of his needy financial condition (44) he lives henceforth for the realization of his "Idea"—as a Hegelian like Lassalle.<sup>2</sup>

## 5.

In comparison with Münzer, poverty and actual suffering through overbearing social classes, economically better situated, play hardly any rôle in determining the political career of Leo, although he and his cat did sometimes vie with one another in hungering (I 33). It is chiefly the sphere of his family and social intercourse with others which exercise a deciding influence in this respect. Spielhagen has given a very poetical description of Leo's youth. The passionate, gifted boy grows up under the tyrannical hand of his father whose many projects have never brought him success (I 15; 26; 29) and who wants his son to attain where he has failed. He loves Leo and tyrannizes over him unwittingly and unintentionally (I 47). But the son is not aware of the love his father bears him after all. He has not the feeling towards him which reminds Lassalle, even a month before his death, of the time when he was on the Rigi with his parents. "with my most faithful friend of all, my poor father who is gone

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 237; 422.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 28. Kinkel, too, speaks of the "Idee." Cp. the account of his plea in Schurz's *Lebenserinnerungen*.

now," as he writes to the countess July 22, 1864, and when torn by passions he misses the mild, warning, consoling voice of a mother (I 184). He is left to himself and his thoughts; for he believes himself not understood by his relatives and still he hungers for love and recognition. So he becomes a lonely, serious and taciturn boy, which is in direct contrast to Lassalle.<sup>1</sup> For the great Democrat belongs among those great men who have, during their whole lives, something boyish about them, and his "Lassen Sie uns Cypernwein trinken und schöne Mädchen küssen"<sup>2</sup> was not merely a rhetorical phrase at his trial, October 12, 1863. As Münzer is described as avoiding rather than seeking company in spite of his ardent temper and his longing for communication (378), so Leo is said to feel no need of friendship, intimate communication, cheerful intercourse or love (I 351). He is different from others and accustomed to be alone and, therefore, wants to be alone (I 316). He feels himself a stranger among his own people, even when he defends their honor (I 31; 252; 94).

So it would seem as if the novelist had given here a picture of the youth of his hero in complete disagreement with his model. But after all, if we consider that Lassalle would very likely not have become the historical figure of so many incongruities in his personality, had he sprung from a different sphere—for, as Oncken rightly remarks, the great men of Germany have come from other homes—then Spielhagen's poetical picture is not so far from truth as it might seem. For the roots of Leo's failings, as we shall observe later, lie essentially not only in the influences which the atmosphere of his immediate family effected on the formation of his character, but the conditions of his home cause him also to seek one field after another for his talents which will have room for action, and bring him at last under the power of that man who, as the mind of Hegel led Lassalle on his radical way, becomes Leo's instructor in political science. Moreover, the intermediate steps leading to Leo's susceptibility for this most determining influence were apparently suggested to the novelist by Lassalle's development. Leo, not having found that love and recognition for which he craves, is seized by a de-

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Die indirekte Steuer, etc. Oncken, I. c. p. 365. Cp. Harms, I. c. p. 80; IRuG II 266. Cp. also Oncken's account of G. Keller's meeting Lassalle and his company, p. 149.

sire to sanctify himself for the great work for which he knows he has been created (I 109); he seeks to attain this sanctification by courting solitude, or in community with souls who are of his mind, or by a life given over to the study of good books (I 110). His disappointment begins when he does not receive the visible sign as proof of his being called to the great mission for which he has been praying in church. He feels deserted by God and, like Münzer, seeks consolation by applying himself more zealously to his work (I 112-13). But he ends by losing his religious belief altogether when he has come under the bad influence of the heartless sophistical minister who preaches love but does not live by it, the sweetness of Christian faith but has none of it. For the minister who later occupies one of the highest church positions thinks that this faith is not for those who see through the true connection of things but for the rabble, because it is the best means to preserve the natural and divine law that the strong and wise and intelligent shall rule the weak and ignorant and stupid (I 115). A radical change takes place in Leo, who henceforth considers paradise only a beautiful childish dream, and this change puts him into a receptive state for the new songs of social revolution. It seems that all this is but the poetical expression of Lassalle's fervent Judaism which urges him to take up arms for his race, of his coming under the influence of advanced German-Jewish writers with their atheism and materialism which allowed him as a young man of 20 to tell Heine that he was an atheist,<sup>1</sup> and lastly, of his development under socialistic influences during his student days at the University of Breslau.

For this coming under socialistic influences, this entering the service of the "Idea" (I 193)<sup>2</sup> is also the meaning of Tusky in the life of Leo. What the latter has lost through the hypocritical preacher, an ideal object for his life, he gains through him, the "Dämon des armen Volkes, dessen Jahrhunderte langer Schrei nach Brot und wieder nach Brot, Jahrhunderte lang verhallt ist" (I 155). Tusky suffers with the misery of life (I 131), he hates the race of nobles who live on vanity and selfishness and resemble the thistles that claim the whole

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 28; 32.

ground for themselves. The nobility is to blame for the dire poverty that causes all the suffering in his family and village (I 132). In savage times the warrior caste became the highest and at last suppressed the whole people so successfully that only a few have kept the memory of their being of the same material as the nobleman. What the nobility as the propertied classes give in food and clothes to the slaves who serve them, is only the interest on the capital which they have taken from them. They have caused all the misery which essentially lies in the difference existing between the possessing and not-possessing, between the rich and poor, a difference which is much greater than that of religion or race, and can be effaced only by making the rich return the capital they have (I 134). When there will be no wealth there will be no poverty. This was the intention of Christ; but with pious wishes nothing will be accomplished. Earthly means will have to be used (I 165). For the Government, too, and the church do nothing for all the wretchedness but being the expression of a wise despotism they enslave body and soul, and the Liberals are unable to alleviate the economic suffering. Their charity plays are some of the plasters with which they attempt to close up the purulent wound (I 190) and their soup, sick and other societies are the meager instalment payments which will not cancel the gigantic debt which has accumulated in the course of so many centuries (I 195).

Tusky recognizes in Leo a character with talents which may serve well his ends of a practical solution of the social questions. He feels that his young friend is called to do great things and that his temperament is ready for action in that direction (I 196; 194). He will proclaim a new gospel to those who hunger for that justice which gives every one his due and does not wait patiently till the loveless rich are pleased to become charitable, but knows how to take with firm hand where and when it is necessary (I 155). He acquaints Leo with social questions by giving him newspapers and pamphlets (I 141) to read and the latter sees now that it is a dreadful state of affairs when the nobleman eats lamprey from golden dishes and the peasant can be glad when he has salt with his dry bread; when the game in the forests and in the fields, which God has created for all men, belongs only to one person, while others have the permission to

fatten it with the sweat of their brows for the table of my Lord. Tusky informs Leo also on the slaughter of the peasants which took place here in their country during the sixteenth century, to rid him of his belief in the good in human nature and to initiate him in the great struggle between the rich and the poor which will last as long as this difference shall exist (I 149-50). He impresses Leo deeply by his instruction and arouses in him the desire to die for the sake of liberty (I 152). But Tusky wants Leo to live for this sacred aim. For the memory of the peasant wars is not extinguished among the people of the villages. Tusky, with the aid of the Bundschuh, the sign on the flag around which the peasants of the sixteenth century gathered to fight against knights and priests, still known among the villagers, tries to awaken among them also the memory of their strength which they might use to become free, and he works for a revolution, a task which he has pledged his life to fulfill because all mankind is involved in it (I 155). Leo is also shown the wretched life which the villagers live from among whom Tusky comes, a life which makes beggars and thieves and creates sickness and ignorance (I 157-59). His eyes are opened to the sad conditions around him. What he has been thinking to be his own misfortune he learns to recognize as the sad plight of a whole class, a whole people (I 135). He sees that time has other problems to solve than the composing of poems (I 144). Tusky has rescued him from the labyrinth of his wretched doubts (I 156), he has told Leo of the bravery of the heroes of the peasant wars who sacrificed themselves for the freedom of their people. Leo resolves on devoting himself to the study of the serious questions of the time, to find out the real causes of the frightful wounds with which the body of the State suffers and to discover the remedies even if they should consist in fire and iron (I 145).<sup>1</sup> Likewise, in the manner of Lassalle,<sup>2</sup> he takes an oath to be faithful until death to the interest of the poor (I 155).

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Lassalle's expressions of violence below p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 26.

## II.

## BERNHARDT MÜNZER, THE REVOLUTIONIST.

## 1.

Spielhagen, as Brandes justly remarks, was led by a right feeling and an admirable thought in making Leo grow up with accounts of the German peasant wars. These revolutionary movements played a prominent rôle in the ideas of the radical democrats of 1848, who, however, must not be confounded with the oppositional constitutional party. Although not active politically, Spielhagen, during his stay at Bonn, no doubt, became acquainted with the opinions of the Radicals as they were voiced in the "*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*," especially by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Lassalle, too, was deeply interested in those revolutionary movements of the sixteenth century; he studied them thoroughly, and his historical drama, "*Franz von Sickingen*," was one of the results of these studies. It was pointed out above (p. 7; 9) that Spielhagen followed with interest everything relating to Lassalle—he attended even court trials at Berlin of the Democrat of which he gives an example in "*Freige-boren*," (p. 296)—and it was also shown above (p. 31) that he described Münzer as devoting himself to his work with thoughts that correspond almost literally with those of Hutten, the figure of the drama, whom its author, as he writes later,<sup>1</sup> has made the mirror of his soul. The novelist must have been well informed also concerning Lassalle's opinion on the peasant wars.

There are a number of reminiscences of these wars in DvH. Bernhardt Münzer is compared to his unfortunate namesake, Thomas Münzer. Like this leader of the peasants, he has worked himself through the trash of scholastic learning to the religion of liberty (44), and although a Catholic by birth and education (66), is an enemy of every dogma. In his great plea he reproaches with the failure of the revolution the weaklings and

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 116.

cowards, these drones of society, who, as early as three centuries ago, did nothing but look on while the nobility with fire and sword suppressed the most rightful insurrection the world ever saw when the unfortunate slave, bound to the soil, rose in fierce wrath against his noble torturer (733). Many thoughts of Thomas Münzer are uttered in the novel by progressive liberal persons. He had very little regard for the rites of the Catholic Church and attacked all vital points of the Christian faith. Almost like a modern pantheist he saw in reason the real revelation, in faith but the commencement of life of reason in man. Through faith of such a nature man, even a heathen, becomes godlike and is saved. He believed that heaven is not to be found in the hereafter but the kingdom of God must be erected here on this earth. Christ, he said, was a man like us, and there is no devil but the evil lust and desires of man (Cp. DvH 67-68; 70; 302; 646, etc.). In agreement with these religious views stands his social program, a society without class-distinction, without the right of inheritance and without a government alien to the members of the social body. It is also, with the exception of the second point, the program of Bernhardt Münzer. He fights for a republic and against the ruling classes because, privileged as they are, they pass lightly over the miseries of narrow, oppressive conditions (411) instead of bringing about a social and political reform. They do nothing to help against poverty and wretchedness (730-31) and permit the callous hand to be exposed to the inclemency of the weather (734). They withhold from the poor the inheritance which is their due and prevent the gospel of salvation from being realized here on this earth, from which all our joys and sorrows spring and which is our fatherland in every sense (300). They want to preserve the old folly, the power of unprogressive religious faith and the old privileges which make equality and brotherhood among men an object of mockery and derision. Bernhardt Münzer's program is, when we consider that the religious and social views of Thomas, as given above, were expressed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, consequently also that of the Radicals of 1848.<sup>1</sup>

But it would seem that the novel DvH contains also some other matter which reminds us of Lassalle's drama more directly than

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Engels, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Heft 5: 6. pp. 21 ff.

those already mentioned. Münzer's friend and follower Wolfgang reflects at the sight of the Eberburg (sic) on the eyes filled with enthusiasm which centuries ago looked from the battlements of the castle into the future which now has become the present (633), and in the first act of Lassalle's drama, Hutten on his flight finds shelter in the Ebernburg, the "home of justice," the castle of Sikkingen, and the two friends of political and spiritual freedom are united, while in the closing scenes Hutten takes charge of winning the knight over to join the peasants in their uprising, i. e. of making use of the democratic forces just as Wolfgang and his party of revolutionists do at the close of the novel. Such a weighty point as this for the influence of the drama on the novel seems to be also the creation of the ethical figure of the poor, yet, after all, so rich, schoolmaster Balthasar. His namesake in the drama, who is the keenest politician in the book, warns Sikkingen against the attempt to deceive the enemy and counsels him to show his own banner unfurled if he would vanquish. So also the schoolmaster speaks against deceiving the children by teaching a false religion and believes it better to teach that there is no God whom they can offend but Humanity, which they offend by not loving and helping it (67-68). He has overcome the tempter in himself just as the figure in the drama is created by Lassalle to overcome the knightly old Adam in Sikkingen, as the author expresses it.<sup>1</sup>

We are prompted, therefore, to ask, Has Spielhagen in describing the class struggle in his novel DvH been influenced by the opinion of the radical democrats who saw in the revolution of 1848 a counterpart of the revolutionary movements of the Reformation time, and does he owe anything to Lassalle's interpretation of these movements as it has found expression in his drama?

## 2.

In its idea the novel DvH continues Spielhagen's "Problematische Naturen" which in closing depicts the Berlin street fights of March 18, 1848; it gives an echo of 1848 and the South German revolution of 1849. The novelist takes his readers to the Rhinelands, the center of the political movements he relates. Rhein-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 126.

stadt may stand for Köln, because the city is said to have a large cathedral (82) which would remind the reader of Cologne, and consequently, the Rheinstädtische Zeitung would appear to take the place of the Cologne Gazette (549). Some historic scenes, which were acted in Bonn, therefore, have been transferred to Cologne.<sup>1</sup>

The novelist pictures a political-social struggle of progressive elements with the reactionary-conservative who, after the March revolution of 1848, are again gaining the ascendancy. If he had not characterized the nobility and military, the ruling classes in DvH, equally unjustly in other works one might be tempted to say that he intended to illustrate the opinion which Lassalle later voiced in his "Arbeiterprogramm" (p. 25) concerning the upper classes. The great Democrat becomes there a great demagogue, who, in order to flatter the working classes, raises against the upper strata of society accusations of such sweeping extent as to be absolutely untrue. For rather than opposing daily for their own interest everything which is good and great, they have shown over and over again in the course of history that they knew how to put their class interest aside for the sake of the commonweal. Also Lassalle's assertion of the immorality of the well-to-do classes as a logical result of their station in life is inexcusable.<sup>2</sup> At all events, Spielhagen agrees with the Democrat in his characterization of the upper classes in his novel DvH (cp. 312).<sup>3</sup>

The conservative-reactionary elements are represented by types from the nobility, the military class and the church, higher officials of the government and some men who join them in the interest of their career (313). They are, as a matter of course, monarchists, props of throne and altar. The officers of the army are men of noble birth and combine, therefore, two factors making for reaction. Their business is unconditional subordination to, and blind swearing by, the paragraphs of the army regulations and the infallibility of the war-lord. He who acts otherwise is a bad officer, disgraces his corps, and must, therefore, be cashiered (453). The wish and order of the war-lord are the soldier's rule of conduct in action and refraining from action. He is responsible to no one in the world but to the war-lord and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 50. Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 220; 369. Brandes, l. c. p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> His characterization of Reaction is to a great extent confirmed by Ziegler, Strömungen, etc. p. 283 f.

has no other thought than to live and die for throne and altar, these two most sacred things, as his fathers did before him (559-60). Any opposition to the orders and commands of the most gracious king and lord is considered by the military an act of perfidy and treason which requires the quick use of the sword. Democratic ideas are in the eyes of these pretorians the heresies of men who have forgotten God and broken the oath they have taken. These props of throne and altar are opposed to the damned democrats and communists, a rabble that ought to be shot down with cannon balls rather than to be treated as a party with which it is advisable to negotiate (30). Even the efforts to establish a constitutional State appear to them a humbug as such a state will have no duration (28). Mere songs of Liberty and a cheer for Schleswig-Holstein or a future German republic provoke their anger (21).

Whoever outside of the military has conservative tendencies belongs to the Constitutional Club. It is composed of all who do not want revolution, and its members range from the strictly conservative royalists to the Liberal bourgeois, whose second word is Constitution (32). Higher officials of the administration have joined this Club as a good policy. For they do not believe in a government by parliament and consider the whole movement an unnatural product imported from France and maintained only by a few restless minds. German unity is to them only a dream (31). They know that the Germans, in spite of the presence of a few republicans, are loyal monarchists and will not lay hands on their kings. They believe, too, that the Radicals, mostly empty hot-headed fellows, cannot replace the worn wheels of the State-machine, but may use for their purpose the legal institutions and means as they find them (302). They want a united, mighty, free Germany and the welfare of the fatherland but in its narrower (Prussian) meaning. However, this can not be gained rashly (301).

At the side of these conservative-reactionists stands the higher middle class, the more or less reactionary bourgeois (540), although Liberalism had been in vogue with them before the revolution (103). After the 18th of March they show themselves enemies of progress, and will have nothing to do with the revolution (127), being opposed to French conditions in Germany

(209). They are in the majority manufacturers (578) and rely on the magnificent army and the most high war-lord for protection against the radical democrats (580), urging the use of arms or of bloodshed, if needed, for the suppression of any revolt or for extinguishing the flame of revolution (576). For, although belonging to the props of throne and altar, most of them are cowards (133; 578; 580), and leave that job for the brave army to do, the mainstay of throne and altar and the domestic hearth in time of danger (136). The Liberal bourgeois are in the minority. They have a better understanding of the signs of the time and see that the only way to peace is to allow the democrats their due share in the public business, thus preventing without use of force a new bloody uprising (207-8; 578). They champion a frank and honest acceptance of the revolution and its consequences over-against a reaction which might re-establish the evils of the ante-March days (209).

As the majority of these people are politically, so they are in respect to economic questions and the social demands of the progressive democrats, the representatives of the lower middle class and workingmen. The nobility and the military are the ruling classes par excellence—the higher middle class taking only a secondary position in DvH. They form a narrow-minded caste, proud of their descent and exclusive, terming as plebeians the classes socially beneath them (95; 102; 348). As the main supporters of throne and altar they receive from these two powers help when needed. Not only does the radical priest believe that aristocracy must needs exist because a natural law demands the government of the bad by the better (416; 433), but the most reverend Prince of the church joins the king in the opinion that the criminal belonging to a noble family which has furnished the country with many high officers of the army and of government should be declared innocent by the court (548). The king, for the same reason, pays from his private purse the debts of certain nobles, since these can not be expected to bear alone the consequences of their frivolity like common men (96). This ruling class has the enviable privilege of disregarding the miseries of economic conditions under which others carry their best forces to their graves (411). If their own financial affairs are not of the best their social position compels them to sacrifice

themselves with body and soul to the idol of a false conception of honor (95) or makes it possible for them to maintain in every way the appearance of respectability (203). The personification of the grossest selfishness, they believe that everything is their due and that they are not born to labor (587). The differentiation of the social body into classes is considered a most natural thing which cannot be changed either by a levelling religion or by a revolution, and the result of this natural law is that since the beginning of the world the lowest stratum of a people, though wretchedly fed, has always been working for the upper classes. He who has the power has also the right and is a fool if he allow himself to be robbed of this power (51-3). A social class like this has, of course, not the least understanding for the ideas of liberty and human brotherhood. The democratic efforts of the progressive elements they deem social utopias (334), the dreams of eccentric heads who do not know what they really want, or the machinations of ambitious people who intend to fish in troubled waters. Every one of such a wild crowd is deemed by them an object of contempt (208). The untenable and dissolute theories of socialistic and communistic benefactors can never help the proletariat (31). The constitutional bourgeois are not much more interested in the economic welfare of the working people. They admit that the laborer's condition is not as good as it might be, but they are sure of an improvement if he will only keep quiet and not create disturbances which turn everything topsy-turvy. They warn the workman against the members of the Democratic Club who want to fish only in troubled waters and do not care a snap for the working class (130). For the progressive elements, too, have formed a political club.

In contrast with the egotism and selfishness of the ruling classes the representatives of the progressive part of the people are led by high ideals for which they stand without fear (372). They believe in the freedom and brotherhood of men because the wisest and best have postulated fellowship as the ideal of the human race (772; 372). Thus in Balthasar the high ethical idealism of the novelist is so pronounced that the poor school-master is judged a Diogenes by his more active friend instead of the wished intermediate between the Greek philosopher and Alexander, he is termed an anvil which lacks the cruel force of

the hammer (71). They acknowledge the dignity of human nature (185) and in standing for fellowship believe in a solidarity of all human virtues which demands a social structure built on the principles of right and justice (44; 372; 665). For the individual's power is very limited. Only in community with others has man an assurance of success (767), and only in love can he find salvation (67).

With these ideals the existing conditions of state and society are found by the democrats to be in complete disagreement. It is a society in which one person unscrupulously draws profit from the other to attain ends which, when attained, prove worthless; a State in which free men who desire to grant to others what they demand for themselves are of no use, but which shamefully abuses its great means in order to perpetuate the power of individuals (542). The State is the domain of the princes and their followers, the nobility and military. These privileged classes cause the deep sore of the existing social conditions; they represent arrogance and injustice (333), social customs and state institutions which have long been overcome by the progress of civilization (551). The whole existing system holds the entire modern development in contumely and merely because it exists is not logical. For only absurdity has erected barriers between the individual classes of human society (772), divided natural kinds of vocation into unnatural castes which seclude themselves from one another and of which the privileged ones, negligently and cruelly, repulse the rise in the world of those who have been suppressed for centuries, preventing against the current of the times (410) millions of human beings from a natural development of their forces (543). The present time, however, requires rational conditions in respect to all classes of society (646) because now the various spheres of life are intimately connected with, and overlap, one another (362). But the ruling classes live in a region into which never a ray of true humanity and true fellowship has fallen (209). Their exclusive family and caste pride remains an obstacle to the freedom of mankind (502), and the unnatural division of men into unnatural social classes has created the idol of appearances, to please which everything untrue and unjust is done (543), and the poor man leads a life which at no time allows him to realize the dignity of his

nature (542). It never occurs to these ruling classes that it is their fault when attempts are made to change the social conditions; and that it is they principally who have caused the existing evils (671). Being haughty, they have but selfish interests; like flames they live by robbery (338). By means of refined customs and a choice language most of them conceal their mental shallowness (351-2). They are non-entities (362) and yet they rule, and conduct themselves in a proud domineering way, unworthy of good citizenship. The higher officials act arbitrarily in discharging their duties or hide their bureaucratic-despotic convictions behind hypocritical friendliness, while politically they are time-servers; the younger men and women combine with their arrogance and insolence open libertinism and the army officers are brutal and uncivil (529). No other class is separated through a deeper gap from the rest of the social body than the military (333). In this class especially, mediæval traditions and absurd harmful prejudices are alive. Here predominate petty tyranny, narrow-minded pedantry, superannuated, aristocratic manners (589). Champions of a faulty conception of honor the army officers exercise a sad trade in a sad unintellectual way (365), and not distinguished by a good education they prevent any fresh breath of science or life from entering (475). Between the spirit of the times and the spirit which is being cultivated in the military class there is no reconciliation possible (453). Its spirit mocks at the entire modern development and is considered by all intelligent people as the main obstacle to a favorable issue of the revolution (557) as well, as the main cause which brought about the revolution and subsequent riots (174). Free-thinking members are ousted and a patriotic frankness that lays bare the defects of the country's army is forbidden. He who belongs to the army becomes gradually imbued with the spirit of cohorts of violence (452), while many of the officers do not understand their business as well as some simple fellow who has brains in his head (612).

Such interpretation being given to the state of society, the progressive elements, the democrats, firm in their convictions whatever may be the consequences (372; 451-2), work for the realization of their ideals. At a time of such harsh contrasts they believe a complete adjustment imperative. They will not

rest till Reaction is vanquished (592). They strive to free themselves from the fetters of false social conditions which they have completely outgrown, in order to live and to act, to speak and to work, as their hearts bid them (551). They rebel against the tormenting humiliations of free-born souls who, under degrading circumstances, work themselves sore in their struggle to be the doers of their deeds (607). They fight for the establishment of freedom, equality and fellowship among men, for a state and society in which right takes the place of might (448), and they struggle, not only for themselves, but for the freeing of the nations. For freedom, born in the soul (618), stands uppermost in their minds because they love reason (452; 543), it is for this good cause that they have entered upon a fight to the finish (634). Freedom for all, however, can be guaranteed only by a democratic republic. The republican idea is identical with the genius of humanity, and like it, immortal. All great and good things ever done in this world have sprung from this source and will always spring from it (565). In a democratic republic no class distinction can exist, the military, made progressive in drill and science, will be changed from monarchical pretorians into the people's servants (359; 361; 443), and the tutelage by the State, which has been draining the whole vitality of the people, will cease (499-500).

While thus the ideals and aims of the democrats are pre-eminently of an ethical-political nature, economic questions appear in the field and seek an answer through Dr. Bernhardt Münzer and his followers.

### 3.

In DvH among the leaders of the Rhenish democrats who differ very much in their political ideas, Münzer holds a prominent position. He stands, as a high government official says, at the head of the radicals who would like to eradicate everything, root and branch, in order to build their utopias on a *tabula rasa* (32). In the eyes of reactionaries he is a well-known demagogue (170), a notorious fellow (173) who, as attorney of the rabble, meddles with everything which does not concern him (174) and voices damned communistic ideas (178)—as long as he does not receive enough money to draw him over to the side of throne and altar (174). He is president of the Democratic Club, and

whatever his fault may be, he will live for his "Idea," even if he should perish in view of the promised land (412). Just so, Lassalle, in a famous love-letter of 1860, considers this possibility and in his Ronsdorf speech of May, 1864, *i. e.*, after the publication of DvH—proof for the excellent information which the novelist had concerning Lassalle—he exclaims that he had not taken hold of the banner of the labor movement without exactly knowing the personal ruin it might mean,<sup>1</sup> thus affirming, a few months before his death, what he had entered in his diary July 19, 1841.<sup>2</sup> But while the real meaning of Münzer's idea becomes clear only toward the close of his political activity he works at this time after March (of 1848) by speech and deed as partisan of the revolution. Since he was compelled to resign his professorship at a Gymnasium<sup>3</sup> because his Liberalism had come into conflict with the principles of the State, he has been using in the newspapers "what the bureaucrats and viri obscuri were pleased to call a sharp pen" (41). After the declaration in France of the republic of liberty, equality and fellowship, after the return of hope to the hearts of the people on the Rhine where bonfires are lighted on the hills by night and the ships are dressed with flags (49-50), and after the voluntary grant by the (Prussian) king (120; 303) of all demands, Münzer remains dissatisfied with the concessions made by the Government.

A forceful speaker, he takes part in the embittered campaign for electing Representatives for the assemblies in Mainstadt (German Parliament at Frankfurt o/M) and the capital (National Assembly at Berlin) in April, 1848 (32; 69), and works for a continuation of the revolution (124) which in the South (Baden) has failed in its contest with organized reaction. By demanding, in union with his democratic friends, the promised arming of the people, he stirs up again the political life in Rheinstadt which causes a constant beating of the general and keeps the military ready at their posts (27). The bourgeois city government, however, relying on the citizen's guard and the army, resist (211), and Münzer finds little support among the masses (122-28; 147-48). The radical paper, of which he is the editor, loses most of its subscribers. The reactionary ele-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, *l. c.* p. 190; 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Cp.* above p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Max Stirner's removal from office? Kinkel gave his last lecture at the University of Bonn at 5 p. m. and took leave from his wife and children in the evening to join the revolutionary forces. *Cp.* Schurz, *l. c.*

ments regain gradually their strength. Münzer complains that, owing to the slackness of the democrats, they are again strong enough to suppress them by force (277) and it seems to him that the revolution died in March and that they are now simply laying out a corpse (278). His urgent appeals to take up arms find no response from his friends because they recognize that the democrats occupy a forlorn position. The revolution had broken out too suddenly and had found them unprepared. The nobility, the military, the government officials have for the most part recovered from their fright and arm themselves quietly; the bourgeois cry for peace at any price, and in the masses proper the democrats have no ground on which they can build with certainty. The revolutionary movement is in the descent and ere long the countershock of reaction against the shock of the revolution will be felt (286).

Münzer's friends are glad that he is going to leave for the Constituent Assembly in the capital to which he has been elected by his many friends among the workmen (373), deeming it a field for his activity which will suit him better than writing for the newspapers (287). In the Constituent Assembly Münzer places himself at the head of the extremists. He becomes thereby in the eyes of his democratic friends an enemy to the common-weal, an enemy the more dangerous, the greater his talents, the fierier his mind, the more captivating the power of his speech and the charm of his personality (481), and a breach opens between them which is to lead to a complete rupture and deprive him of the support of the more moderate democrats with their many adherers (478/9). A newspaper campaign is soon started against Münzer (482), for he has renounced the economic principles of the democratic party and preaches in his last pamphlets the grossest socialistic doctrines; moreover, he has set his mind on turning the German political movement into a European, or even a cosmopolitan one and is negotiating with Italian, French and Slavonic republicans (500).

The Assembly having been dismissed in the beginning of the following winter (Nov. 1848) reaction sets in openly and the sword rules. The situation is a desperate one; Reaction has almost finished weaving her net and the giant "Revolution" lies on the ground, the people have been taken their arms, and their mouths are closed (499). More arrests are made now dur-

ing one evening than formerly during a week, the rabble of burghers have now time to study ethics as some young army officers call it (444), they are not allowed to congregate in the streets, even in pairs (447/8). Münzer deliberates with his friends whether they should rise or give in entirely (459); he is in despair because no one will act and their cause loses ground every day without their stirring themselves to repulse the enemy, (Lasalle's activity and speeches in Düsseldorf Nov. 13, in Neuss Nov. 21, 1848?). He is shown the uselessness of an uprising because as long as the democrats have not the necessary power in their hands to overthrow their enemy at the first attack, it will always be unsuccessful. In politics the successful use of power decides and the mainstay of Reaction, the army, is still unbroken. It was bad enough, as Lassalle, too, says<sup>1</sup>, that in March when the democrats had the power in their hands they did not make better use of their favorable situation, remove the reactionary officers, make the rest take oath on the new Constitution and democratize the whole army from the highest generals down to the youngest recruit (471; 477). The people cannot disarm the army (473). In the new elections Münzer is beaten and the "reds" are said to have tried to make the conservatives believe that he did not wish to be re-elected (517). The Democratic Club is now composed for the most part of violent, passionate men in blouses and with uncouth fists whom an oath binds to one another, and who without their leader are perplexed and helpless (562/3).

When the new Assembly has been again sent home and when that House, in which greatness and happiness was expected to be returned to the waiting nation, breaks up (Frankfurt Parliament), everywhere the flames of revolution break forth, fed by the storm which is drawing near from the South (Baden) in the spring (of 1849). The tocsin resounds in cities thrown into turmoil by fights behind the barricades (550/51). Münzer calls a meeting of his Club to deliberate in the spirit of harmony and fellowship upon what steps ought to be taken in view of the present conditions and the events occurring in their immediate neighborhood. His former democratic friends who, since his falling away from the principles of the party, have kept him at a distance appear, too, at this meeting and warn the people against

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<sup>1</sup> "Ueber Verfassungswesen"; Oncken, l. c. p. 212-13.

taking up arms for a new empire, the romantic spectre which has been taken from the lumber-room in Frankfurt and brought into the light of the 19th century, for an imperial Constitution made of mere compromises. For the only question can be whether or not to fight for a purely democratic republic; and the latter is at this moment the only thing to do. A republican uprising is under the present circumstances a hopeless and, therefore, ridiculous enterprise (565/67). A year ago, in the first roar of enthusiasm it was different. Today the mighty remember their might, and the rich their riches, and the cowards their cowardice, there is no hope of success, and he who tries to awake this hope deceives himself and others; he is no hero but a daring gambler (568). But the present members of the Democratic Club, fanatic partisans of Münzer, mostly proletarians, carry the day. They declare that they have no time to wait till roasted doves fly into their mouths. They hunger with their wives and children and drink when their stomachs are empty. This starvation must end because they, too, are human beings (569): "Down with nobility and church, aristocrats and hypocrits!" Münzer's party have become almost a secret society, they have statutes and take an oath at being admitted. They propose striking secret blows that their opponents may have no time to recover and the province may fall into their hands, and then in union with the South declaring the republic for the West (570). At last they agree to procure themselves arms,<sup>1</sup> move to a nearby city where the revolution has been successful for the moment and if it should be impossible to maintain themselves there, to join the revolutionary army in the South (573). The moderate democrats withdraw openly from the radicals; they will belong no longer to a party which can discuss even for a moment such mad, bloodthirsty and wholly impractical plans (571).

Münzer in following the plan decided on, supported only by a few, and these in the majority, the most violent characters who are led by personal hatred of the nobility or by the desire to enrich themselves (573), ruffians who do not shrink from doing violence even to women, does not meet with success and joins the Southern army. But the operations very soon appear to him

<sup>1</sup> Münzer's Club, his speeches in the "Römer," the decision to procure arms and the ill success of the expedition reflect apparently the speeches in the "Römer" at Bonn of Kinkel, the acknowledged democratic leader, and the plan of the democrats to storm the royal armory at Siegburg near Bonn, in order to arm the landwehr in May, 1849. Cp. C. Schurz, l. c.

a foolish campaign for a romantic Constitution. Socialistic ideas have gained the upper hand in him. For some time he has been thinking of leading the workmen and proletariat in the cities and in the country to a war of extinction against the ruling classes and of procuring the workmen the control of the State (646). In June and July (of 1849) the revolutionary army which Münzer has joined is pressed hard by the regular. He sees that the revolution has failed. He feels he can only fertilize with his blood the ground from which perhaps in a future time the fruit of a better liberty shall rise than is now possible in the shade of 36 thrones, which one dares not touch and innumerable churches which still are respected as sanctuaries (667). It is the fault of the lower middle class that the revolution has miscarried (666). The bourgeois will henceforth rule. But Münzer consoles himself with the thought that after all the rapacious democrats have the credit of giving Tyranny respect for the immortal rabble which results in concessions benefitting also the middle classes (733). He falls into the hands of his enemies and is first condemned to die as a revolutionist, but then pardoned to life imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> His friends attempting to free him, he falls a victim of personal hatred.

While Münzer has changed from the partisan, he seemed to be (170), to the ethical-political aims of his democratic friends, into a socialistic revolutionist, the latter develop into that kind of Liberals who under the name of Progressionists,<sup>2</sup> were to become the antagonists of Bismarck and Lassalle. Guided by the immortal ideal of a free brotherly mankind, they work quietly after the revolution has failed, for spreading the great thought of the solidarity of all human interests (772). But for the time being, they want to establish, first of all, German national unity and are therefore opposed to Münzer's international activity. German unity is out of the question if his ideas should be realized (500). The poor schoolmaster Balthasar, who like Lassalle's Balthasar, the mediator between Knights and democratic forces,<sup>3</sup> sees far into the future, declares that Münzer's attempt to secure the

<sup>1</sup> Like Kinkel. Münzer's joining, in company with his friend and former pupil, Wolfgang von Hohenstein, the Southern revolutionary army, his capture by the Prussian regulars and life imprisonment reflect Kinkel's and Schurz's flight into the Palatine to join the Revolutionists, the capture of Kinkel by the Prussians and his life imprisonment. Cp. C. Schurz, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> The democratic party of 1848 sprung from the Liberals, who, in opposition to it, were henceforth called Old Liberals. From the latter the Progressionists separated as the radical Liberals in 1861.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 120.

working classes the ruling position in the State would be the equivalent of placing these classes simply where the nobility and the other privileged classes stand now. Conditions would only be different but not better. He believes in a state of society where no one rules but Reason (646) and learns during the revolution that the realm of peace cannot be established by violent means, for the archenemy of man, selfishness, can be overcome only by love. So long as love does not rule, all revolutions are but convulsions which show the progress of the sickness and not the recovery (645). The more practical Peter Schmitz considers the socialistic republicans the worst enemies to freedom. They work to his mind against the self-education of the people by advocating State tutelage which so far has been only harmful. But he is also opposed to revolutionary convulsions which only throttle men more tightly. The material with which a republic is to be erected must first be prepared by making the people morally and physically strong. He sees his task henceforth in teaching the great principle of educating one's self to be able to shape one's existence more worthy of man materially and ethically and to preach everywhere the first and last command of political ethics, Help thyself (500). He, too, like all young reformers, once thought it possible to heal all wounds of society with the wand of socialism and communism, and, indeed, the founders of all humane religions have thought thus and still we are not in paradise. Such paradise is the dream of primitive innocence as well as that of posthumous general fellowship. The world of the democrats must be built on other principles, those of right, justice and the solidarity of interests (544). And so Schmitz, a genius in economics, establishes an admirable system of Trust, Savings and Co-operative Societies for which he is given very willingly the necessary capital. For on the strong shoulders of this man rests truly a part of the future, not only of Germany, but of Europe, nay of the whole world (767).

In the social struggle, then, portrayed in DvH, at first all degrees of democracy are united in the attempt to break the power, held by the privileged classes and the bourgeois in the affairs of the State, and shape the policies more liberally. The novel is, indeed, a bloody satire on the influence of the hated hypocrits, Junkers and Reactionary party<sup>1</sup> who in the opinion of the

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 114.

Liberals of the sixties of last century thought less of their duties than of their rights and of regaining their ruling position in Prussia. Spielhagen, together with the Liberal Representatives, saw in the demand by the Government of an army re-organization in 1862 only the desire of the nobility or rather the Junkers either to change the Constitution with a reactionary purpose or to bring about a return to an absolute monarchy. Therefore he felt it to be the duty of a good patriot to fight against the privileged classes just as Baron von Stein and among others Schulze-Delitzsch, too, had done.<sup>1</sup>

That the latter has stood model for the drawing of Peter Schmitz is indicated by his name and proved by some expressions and his economic ideas which remind one of Schulze.<sup>2</sup> Without any really scientific training in economics he was brought like Schmitz through practice to the study of social questions. He carried the ideal of the Liberal view of State and world, the individual's right to his own opinion and responsibility, from the political and legal sphere into economics and tried to make the workman economically independent by keeping alive the trades and the artisan without capital in a general union against the capital class. During the stir of the labor movement in the winter of 1862/3 he like Schmitz warned the working classes against the seductions of socialism.<sup>3</sup> But the preservation of the artisan class did not touch the labor question which Lassalle like Münzer sought to solve and thus the great Democrat became Schulze's antagonist in economics. He reproaches him in his *Arbeiterlesebuch*<sup>4</sup> for his middle class ideas of which Schmitz is the representative in DvH, and Schulze preaches like Schmitz that the labor question is not a political but an economical one, that it cannot be answered by the State but only by the individual, namely through self-help, discipline, increased education and solidarity on condition of absolute political liberty.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 131; 164.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. "Ihr habt die Gewalt; wir haben das Recht; wir wollen sehen, wer es am längsten treibt" (448); and Schulze's words with which he concludes his "Kapitel zu einem deutschen Arbeiterkatechismus": "Dort (with Lassalle) Redensarten, hier Kapital und Bildung, wir wollen sehen, wer das Feld behält," to which Lassalle answers in his Frankfurt speech of May 19, 1863: "Dort Redensarten und Kapital; wir werden sehen, wer es am längsten aushält." Cp. Oncken, l. c. p. 288; 318.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. "Kapitel zu einem deutschen Arbeiterkatechismus"; Oncken, l. c. p. 286.

The schism, then, which was to open between the Progressionist Liberals of the sixties and Lassalle and which will occupy more fully our attention in considering the work of Leo in IRuG, finds its reflection in the separation of the moderate democrats from the socialist Münzer in the course of the general struggle for freedom from the sway of the privileged classes during the revolution of 1848/49. But the novelist, beside putting it almost a decade earlier than it actually took place (765), gives the political parties in DvH an alignment in respect to their tendencies, strength and extent throughout Prussia-Germany which is not entirely borne out by history.

## 4

It must be conceded that, discounting the tendency of the novel which has caused the representatives of the ruling classes to appear as the embodiment of all vices, and those of the struggling democrats, excepting their radical socialistic adherers, as the personifications of all virtues, the social and political tendencies portrayed in DvH form a part of those which were held by Germans of the revolutionary period. The revolution of 1848 was the result of a social disarrangement which was in progress especially in the West and South of Germany and of efforts for unity and a Constitution. The individual had not secured political liberty and a proper share in the affairs of the State in consequence of the Restauration, nor had the whole nation been united in one strong State, but the different States firmly established sought to preserve the old conditions with the aid of police and bureaucracy. The movement affords a complex picture of idealistic and materialistic currents which fluctuated promiscuously. The direct object was a liberal Constitution. The individual social groups sought to make themselves felt politically and to secure their political position by a new statute. In so far the fight for a Constitution contained also something of class struggles but they were never definitely defined and were frequently accompanied by ideological moments, the desire for a democratic satisfaction of individual rights. The second object of the fight was the creation of a united fatherland above the single States. It had a stronger ideological moment. Of course, it was expected that this empire would be governed also

by the constitutional joint administration of the people but how far this share in the government should go and how the relation of the empire to the individual States would shape itself was a moot-case. There were all degrees of thinkers from partisans of a constitutional empire, or a confederation governed by a directory, down to advocates of a pure unitarian parliamentary monarchy or, with greater consequence, of a unitarian State on a democratic republican basis. The most decided demands of those who were fighting for a liberal Constitution as well as those who worked for a unitarian State agreed in the idea of the sovereignty of the people.<sup>1</sup> So the revolution of 1848 was above anything else a political struggle, and although the democrats in DvH hold freedom and a liberal Constitution possible only in a unitarian, democratic republic for whole Germany as against the privileged classes, who believe in a monarchy, the novelist has given a true if one-sided picture of the political struggle.

It is different when we compare the combatants and ask to which social classes they belong and whether their class struggle is borne out by history. The democrats in DvH are recruited from the lower middle class of the Rhenish provinces, only two of the nobility appearing among them. One is evidently modelled after Carl Schurz<sup>2</sup>—he frees Münzer as Schurz his friend Kinkel, and his flight through the mountains to join the revolutionary army reflects Spielhagen's trip with Schurz over the same territory before the latter joined the Southern revolutionary forces. This nobleman belongs to them by family relation and inclination while the other<sup>3</sup> is a democrat only in policy and succumbs in the conflict between his democratic and aristocratic impulses. But the historical supporters of the German revolution of 1848 did not belong to any definite social class. It is true that in those provinces where the movement for German unity started because they had been under Napoleonic influences and where the democratic adjustment of society had made vast strides, reactionary legislation was more keenly felt than in those parts of Germany where the people and the dynasty had been coalescing for a long time. Therefore, the Rhenish provinces offered a favorable ground for revolutionary movements.

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 42. Cp. above p. 51 note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. about Major v. Degenfeldt, below p. 66

But their supporters were not exclusively the middle class, nor the whole middle class. They were the best intellectual forces of the nation, the thousands who had studied in the universities, no small parts of the nobility who could not withstand the power of the new ideas, together with the artisans and workmen who stood behind the middle class and longed for a social betterment. So there were marshalled against the old régime people of all classes, from the proletarian to the heights of intellectual education, higher officials, the ruling classes and even thrones. Indeed, men of the most advanced West German middle class like Camphausen and Hanseemann, in union with liberal aristocrats and higher officials, took hold of the reins which had almost fallen from the hands of the monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Spielhagen draws a true picture, if we leave aside for a moment the bourgeoisie or upper middle class, in making the middle class and the workingmen, who have not yet separated politically, the heart of the army attacking the old régime and attributing to them ideal and material motives in an equal measure. For while the historical middle class had become stronger economically, and could now be identified with German culture, none of these ideal and material factors can be considered primary, they were only complementing and furthering each other. This class like that of the novelist is eager to become of age economically and politically and will bear no longer the pressure of bureaucratic tutelage. In breaking with the old forms, they in their totality come in for political consideration, or, in their higher strata, even for control of State affairs, as in France and Belgium, and their claims could be satisfied in the form of a parliamentary monarchy. From the very small class of the propertied burghers the lower middle class was graded almost imperceptibly to the class of industrial workmen. A political division of the classes such as France under the control of the bourgeoisie had brought about from 1830 to 1848 hardly existed anywhere in Germany. Here they had made common cause in the revolution.<sup>2</sup> Spielhagen is also historical when he tells of a division in the middle class, taking place in the course of 1848, for after the victory it was a question how to adjust the

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 59-60; 228.

new order, especially in industrial districts as in the Rhenish provinces, where a propertied class of manufacturers and a class of industrial workmen gradually found themselves in a social contrast. Here the revolutionary movements produced a fourth independent estate. At first they appeared still as followers of the great army enlisted in the service of others nor in the further progress of the movements were they sharply separated from the lower stratum of the lower middle class but they became gradually more conscious of their class interests and strove for radical exclusive aims. The political ends of the middle class, the national aspirations of the ideologists offered no inducements to this fourth estate. They were gradually replaced by purely democratic aims in combination with socialistic ideas which went far beyond the narrow horizon of the middle class republicans. But after all, these new powers meant very little for the whole in 1848. The German revolution cannot be considered from the viewpoint of a contrast between bourgeoisie and proletariat.<sup>1</sup> And it is here that Spielhagen's narrative becomes unhistorical. He portrays the partisans of these socialistic tendencies as representatives of the most outspoken hatred of nobility, church and capital<sup>2</sup> and as widely separated at last from the moderate democrats. Spielhagen exaggerates greatly in making a class struggle out of a political contest without actual economic aims.

The position of the bourgeoisie in DvII is still less borne out by history. In fact it corresponds with the opinion of the radicals of the Rhenish provinces, like Marx, Engels and Lassalle. Marx having at once returned from his exile to Cologne after the outbreak of the revolution, issued and edited in union with Fr. Engels and others, among them the poet Freiligrath, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," a paper which represented the beginning of the socialistic labor movement with inexorable consequence and wildest fanaticism.<sup>3</sup> Marx and his friends had published in 1847 the "Kommunistische Manifest," in which, among other points, modern history was declared to be the history of the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. It was from this view point that the Neue Rheinische Zeitung considered the German revolution. As in France bourgeoisie and proletariat

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 59-60; 228.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 61-63.

fought in union against the crown, the last feudal halo which covered the rule of the bourgeoisie, and in consequence of the February revolution the bourgeois despotism was consummated, making necessary a decisive battle between the two forces left alone on the field, so the German March revolution was judged to have been brought about chiefly in the interest of the bourgeoisie<sup>1</sup> and also resulted in leaving only these two forces in the field who must now come to terms. In considering the result of the German revolution, Marx finds on the one hand the permission to arm the people, the right of forming associations, the de facto obtained sovereignty of the people, on the other, the retention of the monarchy and the ministry Camphausen-Hansemann, i. e. the government by the representatives of the bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie sighing for the period when it had ruled without being responsible and had had a scape-goat whom the proletariat could strike as often as it wished to hit the bourgeois,<sup>1</sup> anti-revolutionary at all times and fearing the people, i. e. the workmen and the democratic lower middle class, now concluded with Reaction an alliance offensive and defensive.<sup>1</sup> This is on the whole the position which DvH attributes to the bourgeoisie<sup>2</sup> and just as Marx and his friends—among them Lassalle<sup>3</sup>—from the view point of modern history as the history of class struggles, transferred such a struggle from France to German soil and measured with decided bias the course of the entirely different German conditions,<sup>4</sup> so Spielhagen, too, makes the German bourgeoisie, contrary to history, the props of throne and altar because they fear the fourth estate. In ascribing such a position to the bourgeoisie after the outbreak of the revolution, Marx, like his disciple Lassalle, saw in the “Vereinbarungstheorie”, i. e. in the arbitration between Absolutism and Liberalism for which the Constituent Assembly had been convened, a disavowal of the revolution and the sovereignty of the people.<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding his belief in the necessity of a decisive battle between bourgeoisie and the proletariat, he still counted, as Münzer does, on the radical democrats of the middle class for his practical agitation, intended to lead the revolutionary move-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 61-63.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Oncken, I. c. p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 62-63.

ments in the direction of communism.<sup>1</sup> He knew there was as yet no class feeling among the workmen as such. This is shown in a letter to Marx by Lassalle of June, 1852, in which the latter speaks of the confused elements from which a primitive labor party had to be organized in 1848, whereas they now begin gradually to be conscious of their identity as a class and to develop its consequences theoretically.<sup>2</sup>

From the position which Spielhagen in agreement with Marx gives to the bourgeoisie in DvH in relation to the privileged classes a clearer light will now also fall on the attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the radicals in the novel. The men of 1848/49 sought in the succeeding decade an historical solution of the problems, with which they had grappled for two years. They studied in the time of leisure the revolutionary period of the Reformation in order to find there proofs for the correctness of their political thoughts and historical reasons for their convictions. Every political party found itself again among the contrasts of the past and heard in the struggle of the present their echo.<sup>3</sup> The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* voiced the opinion of the radical democrats also on this subject. In the beginning of the revolutionary movements of the Reformation all oppositional elements, the moderate reform party of the Lutheran burghers and the revolutionary party of peasants and plebeians, in which latter the demands of Thomas Münzer were the most radical, were united in their fight against the conservative-Catholic party. But when the peasants and plebeians led by Luther's calls against the priests and by his Sermon on Christian Freedom, set about to rise against their oppressors, he did not hesitate one moment to throw aside the popular elements of the movement and to join the classes of the conservative burghers, nobles and princes. In the same way the bourgeois parties, who, even up to 1847, had been revolutionary, had called themselves socialists and dreamed of the emancipation of the workingmen, turned away from the popular elements and preached in the Prussian National Assembly of 1848, the passive resistance and peaceful development instead of opposing the coup d'état of November with force. Through their wavering between radicalism and conservatism

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 62-63.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 144.

and through all kinds of attempts to negotiate and compromise they reminded the disappointed radicals of the actions of Luther and his friends, and the pitiful result which is called the Augsburg Confession. Furthermore, as Luther when the rising of the revolutionists reached over into Protestant territory and the "spießbürgerliche", the philistine, movement grew too much for him, forgot all previous enmity and allied himself with princes and pope against the murderous and robber-like gangs of peasants, who he said should not be treated with any false compassion, so the bourgeoisie who had been socialistic and philanthropic turned reactionary when, after the days of March, 1848, the proletariat came to harvest the fruits of its victory. The rebels were shot down or sent to jail in the name of a religion which in its origin was nothing but pure communism. So the bourgeois followed in the steps of Luther who, by his Bible translation, had taught the insurgents to distinguish between primitive and feudalized Christianity, and then with the same Bible had thundered against them the claim of a government established by God, nay, in the same way, sanctioned the princely character by the grace of God, the passive resistance, even serfdom, and thus denied his whole revolt against the worldly and ecclesiastic authorities. Münzer, the plebeian revolutionist, had become in his eyes an instrument of the devil as shown by his letter "Against the Rebellious Spirit," addressed to the Princes of Saxony; he asks these to step in and drive Münzer from their lands. In like manner the Liberal bourgeoisie denied their past and were found on the side of Reaction during the critical period of the revolution of 1848/49.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem that this exposé by the radical democrats of the attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the conservative-reactionary classes and the description of how the former turned away from the masses, advocated forceful means for the suppression of rebellious inclinations and refused demands which they had promised to grant—it is of no consequence that in DvH the permission to arm the people apparently depends only on the city government while historically the Prussian Government was this factor<sup>2</sup>—gives a full explanation for Spielhagen's arrang-

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Engels, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*. Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Heft 5. 6. p. 21 ff.; cp. also Brandes, l. c. p. 117 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 58.

ing his parties and attributing to them tendencies of a more social nature than history allows. This exposé, too, may have led the novelist to call his hero Münzer, and as he gives him the Christian name Bernhardt=Ferdinand<sup>1</sup> we can look for some influence of Lassalle, too, in this connection.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, while the marshalling of the struggling parties and their aims depends on the general view of the revolution as it was held by the radical democrats, the influence of Lassalle is not without bearing on the reason why the revolution of 1848/49 was doomed to be a failure, another idea, evidently with intention, exemplified in DvH.

## 5

Lassalle, although very intimately associated with Marx and his friends during the revolutionary time, and seeing also, as we have pointed out, in modern history the history of class struggles, does not agree with them as to the meaning of the peasant wars as revolutionary movements. He observes that the peasants, still bound by the ideas of the middle ages, made landed property the condition for participation in government and succeeded in their demand for representation by the free farmer and knightly landholder against the princes whose territorial position because of its inherent idea of a sovereignty independent of landed property, contained the revolutionary moment.<sup>3</sup> It never occurred to them that man as such could be entitled to share in the government. He points out that the Reformation, measured by the standard of free humanity must give the palm to the Renaissance, for this movement which started the Reformation is filled with a freer and more liberal humane enthusiasm than the Reformation proper. This interpretation, expressed in the preface to his drama, explains why an ethical and political reform was made its subject and Sikkingen its hero.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, it would seem as though Lassalle were, after all, influenced very little by Marx's teaching that modern history is

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Lassalle once thought of writing a libretto for an opera, on Thomas Münzer for instance, in the interest of his agitation. Cp. Oncken, I. c. p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Oncken, I. c. p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 124.

the history of class struggles. His knights and peasants by no means bear the typical traits nor do they represent the interests of their classes.<sup>1</sup> The ideal of a united Germany without princes and with freedom of thought holds a pre-eminent position in the drama, the social movements of the Reformation occupy only a secondary place. Sikkingen—it matters not here whether the historical person could be the hero of such a drama as Lassalle's (he resembles Degenfeldt, cp. below p. 66), for not on his efforts nor on that of the other knights rested the progress of German history but on the territorial princes<sup>2</sup>—fights for religious or general intellectual freedom and for the unification of Germany. He opposes the ecclesiastic spirit, any slavery whatsoever, and territorialism, the German princes.<sup>1</sup>

The preference for this ethical and political ideal to the social question of the peasants is the main reason for Marx's and Engel's adverse criticism of the drama.<sup>3</sup> It is different in respect to its speculative idea on which Lassalle wrote an essay for his friends in London, Marx, Engels and Freiligrath.<sup>4</sup> He starts from the question, What are the causes for the failure of most revolutions? and finds the last cause as true Hegelian in a formal dialectical antithesis. The eternal strength of all ruling classes, he says, who defend an existing order, consists in the undeceivable complete understanding of their class interests which already in power and perfected has taken hold of every member; the eternal weakness of every justified revolutionary idea which struggles for its realization lies in the lack of such a consciousness on the part of the individual members of the classes concerned. Their principle has not yet been realized, and consequently they lack organization of the means at their disposal. The strength of every revolution depends on enthusiasm, i. e. on overlooking the finite means for its realization and the difficulties which oppose it. But the moment arrives for operating with, and depending on, the means at hand. Then it may appear as a triumph of surpassing realistic sagacity on the part of revolutionary leaders to conceal the true ends of the movement and, by means of this deception of the ruling classes or, even by using them, to gain the possibility for organizing new

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 124; 127.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 122.

forces. But enthusiasm in coming to terms with the finite has instead of realizing itself, discarded its principle, the revolutionary idea; it must succumb. Most revolutions which have failed have failed because of the inner necessity of this dialectic contradiction, prudence. And Lassalle's Sikkingen having failed for this very same reason, Marx could acknowledge that this tragic collision was exactly that which justly brought about the failure of the revolutionary party of 1848/49.<sup>1</sup> In this dialectic contradiction lies the secret of the strength of the extreme parties in revolutions, and moreover, the secret why the instinct of the masses ordinarily succeeds better than the intelligence of the educated. Individuals can be deceived; classes never. Every compromising act abandons its principle; for every aim, as Hegel already saw and Sikkingen makes clear to Hutten, can be attained only by means in accord with its own inner nature. Therefore, revolutionary ends can never be realized through diplomatic means. On the contrary, revolutions can be made only with the masses and their passionate devotion because they cannot conceive of compromising but demand the extreme, the whole, the direct. Thence the practical superiority of the abstract idealist and the inferiority of those who diplomatize or "listen mit der Idee", i. e. believe that they can reach revolutionary aims through diplomatic means, and consequently succumb. In this deceiving or bargaining with the idea lies the tragic guilt of Sikkingen, a guilt not only intellectual but also moral. Without relinquishing his revolutionary aims in the least, he deceives the idea in respect to execution, while Luther, for instance, refused any compromise on points which he considered paramount. Sikkingen instead of appealing to the principles and allowing their revolutionary force to act makes the historical idea and the national cause dependent on the success of an enterprise which he carefully divests of its general validity under the cloak of accident. Therefore, he himself fails through a concatenation of accidents.<sup>2</sup>

It may be impossible, without any other evidence, to prove that this dialectic idea, to which Lassalle puts the tragic story of his Sikkingen, is intended to be also the idea of the struggle in

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 124.

DvH, but a remarkable similarity is obvious. To be sure, we can not substitute Münzer for Sikkingen. In his desire, as Lasalle writes in the preface to his drama, to drive once more the great current of culture and civilization of the German Renaissance and Reformation through the veins of the people, he wants to make those greatest and mightiest destinies which rule the welfare of the whole public mind the subject of his drama, and it was of course technical reasons that required him to make an individual, Sikkingen, the instrument for this aim. But in a novel the masses can be brought on the stage, and so Münzer, although in a large measure the hero of DvH, is only one among the many who take part in the revolution; the more so since Spielhagen believes that the hero of a novel must not march at the head of the phalanx nor be too active because by such a position he absorbs too much of the interest of the reader to the disadvantage of the other figures.<sup>1</sup> Münzer and his radical friends form only a small portion of the masses who are up in revolution against the privileged classes.

It is true that in a certain measure, he, too, illustrates Lasalle's view on the causes for the failure of revolutions. He lives and works with an enthusiasm that places its cause above the interests of family and friends (165; 652; 125; 151; 276/7) for the realization of his idea of justice to which the social misery from which he has sprung has given a socialistic-communistic character. But instead of openly and from the start appealing to this principle, for twenty years he champions freedom and unity of his fatherland (666) on the side of the democrats, takes part in realizing the compromise between the old régime and the forces raised by the revolution and deceives thus his "idea." But he deceives himself too. In trying to organize revolution he finds no support among the masses, he and his followers have no class interest as they differ very much in feeling and thoughts (568). His joining the revolutionary army, which fights for an imperial Constitution while he secretly aims at the establishment of a social republic, is the climax of his deceiving the "idea." He acts in manifest contradiction to his principles (650), does not testify for truth and champions a false principle (566); he must

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<sup>1</sup> F. Spielhagen, *Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik*, p. 208 f.

succumb. But he offends his principle of justice also by his love affair which has a greater share than his political conduct in his desertion of his revolutionary idea. He is not the man to bring about that justice for which he fights.

The complete similarity of the tragic revolutionary idea rests with the democrats in DvH as a whole. The different classes having been fully characterized above, it suffices to state this similarity briefly. All the members of the nobility and military in DvH with one exception form a caste who see their position warranted by reason of a natural law (20). They rule by dint of a class principle that permeates each member and by strength of the army which is theirs. The people in arms will always be stronger than the people without arms (473). They are strong because of their consciousness of strength based on the solidarity of interests and comradeship which flatter even the proletarian in arms. For the military institution gives him a position in life while outside of it he remains always the proletarian pure and simple, and it makes him insusceptible, too, to the siren songs of liberty, equality and fellowship (472). In contrast with such a ruling class the progressive democrats are bound to fail in their revolution. Differing very much in their political ideas they have no class feeling, and their means are not sufficiently organized. The revolution came too soon for them (286) and then the people deceived the revolutionary idea by compromising with the Government which necessarily must lead to reaction. They have used prudence, Lassalle's dialectical contradiction, instead of realizing the revolutionary principle which was possible in the first soar of enthusiasm (567). There is no enthusiasm left among the masses, a successful issue of the revolution is out of question, and Spielhagen's spokesmen instead of making compromises with the ruling classes have learned, like Lassalle's Sickingen, to trust the force of their ideas and spread them to all homes to prepare the changes which they deem necessary for the social body.<sup>1</sup>

That the novelist, however, has recognized Lassalle's formal revolutionary idea underlying his drama or has even known of his correspondence with his London friends on this matter, and has intentionally based his own subject on the same formal idea,

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 52.

seems to become a certainty if Marx's objection to Sikkingen as the bearer of a revolutionary idea, which otherwise found his approval, be taken into account. In Marx's opinion Sikkingen is not the proper person to represent the dramatic principle of a tragic collision. He is no revolutionary hero nor can he be the hero of such a drama because in the main he represents a reactionary interest. Nor could he do otherwise. He did not fail because of his prudence but because as a knight and representative of a class going to ruin he revolted against the existing conditions; he was revolutionary only in his imagination and divested of his peculiar qualities nothing is left of him but—Götz, "the miserable fellow."<sup>1</sup>

Such a Sikkingen as Marx conceived him to have been appears also in DvH. Major von Degenfeldt—a name well known in the history of the Baden revolution—seems partly to have been modelled after the former Prussian military officer, Wilhelm Rüstow, who had taken part in Garibaldi's expedition and was living at Zürich when he became a friend of Lassalle's during the latter's journey to Switzerland and Italy, in the summer of 1861. Rüstow was an energetic and intelligent man who like Degenfeldt (DvH 474) was no radical party politician by profession, but considered revolution from a purely military view point as a kind of normal state and held his strategical abilities always in readiness for such enterprises.<sup>2</sup> He was one of the seconds in the duel which was to lead to Lassalle's death<sup>3</sup> and appears evidently under the name of Baron von Kerkow, in the same capacity in IRuG (II 608).<sup>4</sup> While Degenfeldt has been given Rüstow's strategical gifts and political radicalism he represents also some radical opinions of Fichte-Lassalle, who do not object to a despot's ruling for a while if he succeed in educating his people for liberty (DvH 359; 473).<sup>5</sup> But in most other respects, in the principal traits of his character, the revolutionary officer of noble rank is the exact counterpart of Marx's Sikkingen. His deep insight into the defects of the superannuated system has led him into the con-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Lassalle's "Fichtes politisches Vermächtnis und die neueste Gegenwart" 1860. Cp. Oncken, I. c. p. 156. Cp. below p. 74.

test; he is a revolutionist in his mind but not in his heart, fancy, passion, nor in his blood and nerves (662). In these he is still the aristocrat for whom there is no real equality of men (661). He belongs after all to the ruling classes against which he, as democrat in mind, fights, and succumbs as a romanticist who does not belong in the modern world.

Münzer, we conclude, devotes his life to a task, which Hutten-Lassalle has set, in a contest with the ruling classes or powers, based on Lasalle's formal revolutionary idea. It remains for us to examine how far his political activity, aims and means for their attainment correspond with those of the historical revolutionist.

## 6.

Owing to Spielhagen's disinclination to introduce contemporaneous people into his novels<sup>1</sup> only a few details of Münzer's life remind of Lasalle's. Having made the acquaintance of the Countess Hatzfeldt, January, 1846, Lassalle betook himself to the Rhine the next summer to begin the legal contest with her husband. On the Rhine he became the disciple of Karl Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and the partisan of the social-democratic republic. The German revolution means also for him the time of political apprenticeship. On the experience which he had at that period of his life his convictions are based; from them spring both the principal thoughts of his theoretical works, as "Sikkingen", for example, and his practical achievement, the labor agitation. He was working in the interest of radical democracy when just at the outbreak of the French revolution he was arrested in connection with the famous theft, Aug. 20, 1846, of a valise of the mistress of Count Hatzfeldt, in which documents detrimental to the cause of her lover were supposed to be, and was held for trial till his impressive "Kassettenrede"<sup>2</sup> of Aug. 11, 1848, brought about his acquittal. Thus when for the first time democratic ideas showed their power in Germany the man who from his early youth had felt a feverish impulse for political action was condemned to idleness as far as the revolution was concerned. He was at liberty only from this date to Nov. 22,

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Freigebornen*, p. 237-88.

1848, and could not, therefore, take part in the outbreak of March, nor, as Münzer does, in the second revolution of May and June, 1849. Neither did he find the opportunity the latter had of political activity in any parliament and assembly or in the publication of a newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

But during the two months he was at liberty he devoted himself to the revolutionary cause with all his energy. When the Prussian Reaction set in in Nov. 1848, he sent out a call to arms like Münzer; indeed, he had before this done everything possible to prepare the people for a rising in arms. In a speech at Neuss Nov. 21, he urged them once more to arm and break forth as soon as the sign would be given from Düsseldorf, Lassalle's place of residence at that time, together with the start of the expected revolt in Silesia. But the next day he was arrested on the accusation of having incited the people to arm against the king and held for trial till May 6, 1849, when, as a result of his famous "Assisenrede," which had been published in print before the trial began and which he was not allowed to deliver in court, he was acquitted, but further held till July 5, 1849, for the lesser crime of having incited the people to resist by force State officers. He was thus kept away from the scene of historical events, and when he was once more free the revolution had been suppressed everywhere, the leaders were dead, captured or abroad, the old powers again firmly established. It was, after all, a happy fate which befell Lassalle. He could remain in his native country, from which he did not become estranged as so many others.

Beside the strenuous effort of Münzer to bring about the arming of the people and to advance the cause of the revolution, it may be said that in the eyes of the military reactionary, he appears, as Lassalle was characterized by the police of Düsseldorf, to be a man of extraordinary mental gifts, charming eloquence, indefatigable activity, exaggerated ideas of liberty, great fixity of purpose, a wide circle of acquaintances, very clever conduct and enabled by the large means of his client to be the chief leader of the "reds" in the Rhenish provinces (DvH 298; 306; 307; 266; 268; 274; 124-5; 278, etc.).<sup>2</sup> When he calls himself in his great plea the agitator, the prompter, the ringleader (730) or is characterized as such by others (170; 174, etc.) it again agrees

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 82.

completely with a police report of 1852 on Lassalle: "His plan is to awaken and nourish in the workmen discontent with their economic conditions and to persuade them that the republican system will and must remove their distress."<sup>1</sup>

Especially Münzer's great plea reminds one of Lassalle's famous "Assisenrede," "a dialectic masterpiece in which the great Democrat with demagogic eloquence builds up a forceful accusation and thunders with fulminating blows of a club against the violation of the Constitution and the robbing of the people."<sup>2</sup> In Münzer's plea Spielhagen has given us an example of the wonderful speeches of the agitator Lassalle. The latter himself has explained their practical composition as resulting from the desire to give them a scientific character and easy intelligibility, so that they could impress by dint of their popularity the great majority of the uneducated, and in virtue of their scientific depth the elite among the most highly educated.<sup>3</sup> Barring the scientific character which Spielhagen had to omit in this case Münzer's great speech has the plastic form and definiteness which Lassalle used and it complies also with the requirements of the agitator in its ability to impress both the uneducated and the educated. But there are also some thoughts common to both speeches. Both Münzer and Lassalle proclaim themselves partisans of a social republic, consider it their duty to espouse one side and stake blood and property in times of political excitement, in contrast to all those who forget their duties, not seeing the danger into which their indifference places them, and think their achievement a shining example of patriotism which deserves a reward rather than punishment (DvH 735; 732; 733).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> "Meine Assisenrede, etc. "Düsseldorf 1849. Harms, l. c. p. 24; cp. Oncken, l. c. p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Der Hochverratsprozess wider F. Lassalle, etc. Berlin, 1864. p. 33. Der Prozess, etc. zu Düsseldorf. Frankfurt a-M. 1864. p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 67; 71-74. But Lassalle claims reward also in other speeches: cp. above p. 31. It is evident, however, that Münzer's plea was written also, perhaps even to a greater extent, under the influence of the speech which Kinkel delivered when he was tried in Cologne, April, 1850, for having taken part in an attempt to seize the royal armory at Siegburg in the interest of the revolution. Münzer not only stands accused of a very similar undertaking, but uses in his plea thoughts which Kinkel uttered before the court. The latter calls himself a socialist since his heart has always been with the poor and oppressed. As a socialist he is also a democrat. He considers the democratic State the only sure remedy for economic misery, and declares the unity of the fatherland to be the political aim of the German revolution. Having obtained democratic institutions in 1848 the people not only have the right but also the duty to defend, as one man and with all weapons possible, such institutions, and, therefore, he has not hesitated to join men without education and of doubtful reputation in order to uphold the democratic cause. But the people have given up their struggle and have deserted their leaders. Yet for his endeavors to protect the democratic Constitution he demands a crown as reward. Cp. Schurz's Lebenserinnerungen.

The impression of Münzer's plea is such (735) as the court feared Lassalle's speech would create<sup>1</sup> when it forbade its delivery.

There are a few minor points in which the political activities of Lassalle and Münzer agree: Just as Lassalle's house and purse during his stay on the Rhine stood always open to political fugitives and impoverished democrats,<sup>2</sup> so Münzer supports his poor party friends whenever he can (119); as the great Democrat showed very early the remarkable gift of ability to impress the masses and often found admiration, devotion and unconditional obedience with the working people although in his whole life he was on intimate terms with only one talented workman of the Rhinelands,<sup>3</sup> so Münzer has an extraordinary influence over his adherers, even the most violent ones (155; 131; 165), and his resignation and contempt for the crowd for whom he sacrifices everything (149; 165) correspond with what Lassalle felt and thought in his experiences with the workingmen.<sup>4</sup> Münzer's grinding activity (44) and feverish working in the interest of his cause reflects almost literally that of which Lassalle wrote in a letter to Rüstow, Feb. 9, 1862, and his praise of the blessing of industry (266; 268; 274) the words of Lassalle, contained in a letter of Oct. 10, 1861, to the revolutionary poet Herwegh.<sup>4</sup> As Lassalle's "glowing soul is full of impatience over the slow development of events" as he said himself in another letter, so Münzer is always urging his friends to act as we have pointed out. Lastly as the historical Democrat received in his work a more than friendly assistance from the Countess Hatzfeldt, so Münzer stands in close relation to a noble woman who becomes also his fate and helps his cause for love of him but makes his work harder, too, by injuring his reputation with friends and foes (421-22; 501).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. also Schurz's account of the impression which Kinkel's plea made.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Feste, die Presse und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag," Düsseldorf.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 85-86. Cp. also the note on p. 121 below.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 191-2; 359.

<sup>5</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 43; 47. Freigeborn, p. 287.

While the restricted participation by Lassalle in the German revolution, and the limited space of time in which the events related in DvH take place necessitated a drawing of Münzer's political activity differently from that of his prototype, aside from the novelist's practice mentioned above, a more complete agreement may be looked for in their aims and the means for their attainments.

Münzer considers the existing social misery from almost the same viewpoint as Thomas Münzer<sup>1</sup> and starts in his political activity from the idea of justice. The sum of happiness in which mankind must share is very small and everyone can receive his modest portion only if he listens to reason and claims no more than what he likes to grant his fellowmen. This discernment which realizes itself in deeds of modesty and renunciation is called Justice (165), and its purport demands that what is still the exclusive property of a few become the property of all (168). Münzer, therefore, is opposed to those who want to be something different from others and do nothing to overcome their individual selfish desires (426) and works that right and justice be established both politically and economically. The wretched shall here on earth receive their inheritance and shall be given no longer smooth words and beautiful phrases to eat and to drink (302). But like the youthful Lassalle seeing in the existing government the personification of despotic selfishness and arbitrariness because it takes Might for Right and has neither the will nor the power to bring the revolution to completion, and ascribing to only a few members of the ruling classes the desire to further the welfare of the fatherland and a free powerful fatherland at that, Münzer in his fight for the rights of man is also a partisan of the radical democrats of 1848. He combines with the ideal of the Renaissance also those ideas of the rights of man of the French revolution which sprung from it. For beside brotherhood and equality freedom must be secured for his people (416), but as Spielhagen says of the conception of freedom for which the German revolutionists fought:

“Die gutmütige, idealistische, gläubige, kopflose Revolution,

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 38.

in der keiner etwas anderes als Freiheit wollte, wenn er auch um Lebens und Sterbens willen nicht hätte sagen können, was er so recht darunter verstehe,"<sup>1</sup>

so the idea of freedom is not definitely expressed in the novel; it now seems to denote political liberty, now again it directly means personal freedom, a freedom which allows the individual to live as he will, if thereby none of his fellowmen suffers (155).

Münzer is the typical representative of the South German revolutionist, inspired by the ideals of the French revolution; he even addresses a partisan by: Citizen Unkel (569),<sup>2</sup> and Lassalle, besides being wont to take with predilection his ideas from the development of France<sup>3</sup>—for outside of Hegel he lives in the ideas of 1789—stood with his whole nature for the democratic standpoint of the rights of man.<sup>4</sup> His honest compassion for those on whom he saw an outrage to such rights committed, was pointed out above. He preserved during his whole life his sympathy with the hard lot of the working people and proletarian, which gave him the ideal of his youth, to help the feeble and oppressed, to assist in their fight against slavery and victimizing, to share the task of leading mankind to higher forms of existence.<sup>4</sup>

This can be brought about only by interpreting the ethical aim of the State more correctly than the privileged classes do; by not letting the State serve selfish purposes but by considering it the ethical unit which has the function to perfect the development of the human race into freedom. For "die Geschichte ist ein Kampf mit der Natur, mit dem Elende, der Unwissenheit, der Armut, der Machtlosigkeit und somit der Unfreiheit aller Art, in der wir uns befanden, als das Menschengeschlecht im Anfange der Geschichte auftrat. Die fortschreitende Besiegung dieser Machtlosigkeit — das ist die Entwicklung der Freiheit, welche die Geschichte darstellt." The State is the union of individuals in an ethical totality, a union which increases millionfold the forces of all individuals included in this union, and multiplies millionfold those forces which would stand at the disposal of all as individuals. The purpose of the State is to enable the individ-

<sup>1</sup> Am Wege, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 227; 436.

<sup>3</sup> Freigeborn, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Unkel=Unger, Schurz's friend? Cp. Lebenserinnerungen.

uals to reach through this union such a level of existence as they could not reach as individuals; to enable them "eine Summe von Bildung, Macht und Freiheit zu erlangen, die ihnen sämtlich als einzelnen unersteiglich wäre."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the individual must be merged into the State as the highest ethical totality. This surrender to the interest of all is Lassalle's firmest conviction in politics. Since his earliest youth he had seen morals and right embodied in the State. The enthusiasm for this idea, his faith in the mission of the State as the promoter of right and civilization, not only as protector pervades all his writings.<sup>2</sup> He finds in the exacter understanding of the idea of State the source "aus der alle in diesem Jahrhundert gemachten Fortschritte stammen und weiter stammen werden."<sup>3</sup> Studying Heraclitus of Ephesus he has as disciple of Hegel the satisfaction of finding that the Greek philosopher agrees with his master in the stricter conception of State. For Heraclitus' Ethics contains the eternal basic thought of the ethical, the devotion to the common-weal, which is nothing but an agreement with Hegel's philosophy of State.<sup>4</sup>

This is the devotion which Münzer demands of the individual (384) and the resulting understanding of the idea of State. It has been pointed out that therein lies the reason for his separation from his democratic friends as it brought about the enmity between Lassalle and the Progressionists of the sixties.<sup>5</sup> But although Lassalle and Münzer value the idea of State more highly than do their former political friends, a difference must be noted in their estimation of political liberty in relation to German unity.

It can not surprise one to find Lassalle placing the unity of his fatherland above political liberty. His drama is a glowing plea for an intimate union of all Germans. Its subject has an eminently political tendency. Sickingen tries to persuade the emperor to bring with the help of the nation the Reformation to a successful close and to subdue the princes. Failing in this endeavor he sets himself about to break the power of the princes, the real enemies of the empire and common liberty. Even

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<sup>1</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Harms, l. c. p. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> System der erworbenen Rechte. Leipzig, 1861. I. p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Die Philosophie Herakleitos, etc. II. p. 437; 459.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above p. 52-54.

the hope for a Protestant emperor at the head of all Germany is voiced. For as Franz von Sickingen exclaims:

“Es streicht nicht mehr der Luftzug der Geschichte  
Durch solche Landparzellen.”

As in Lassalle's drama, so it is in his pamphlet “Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens; eine Stimme aus der Demokratie,” also of 1859, that he demands a union of all Germans under a centralized government. He points out that Austria had been the main obstacle for bringing about German unity in the revolution of 1848/49. He advises Prussia to make use of the favorable moment of her adversary's weakness, to expel Austria from the Confederation, separate Schleswig-Holstein entirely from Denmark, unite all German races and to proclaim at last the German empire. With emphasis he exclaims: “An dem Tage, wo Oesterreich vernichtet ist, ist Deutschland konstituiert.” In his “Fichtes politisches Vermächtnis und die neueste Gegenwart”<sup>1</sup> and in his speech in honor of Fichte, May 19, 1862, the admirer of the revolutionary genius of the Great Frederic<sup>2</sup> declares it to be the highest and most important task of the present time to establish a German centralized State under the leadership of Prussia, and places the question of political liberty behind that of unity. He attributes to those who want a hereditary, monarchical, united Germany a higher degree of intelligence and political truthfulness than to the German republican federalists.<sup>3</sup> While all these utterances show that Lassalle after having learned during the fifties that playing revolution did not amount to much, had made up his mind to work for a social change within the existing State, they are the natural consequences of his Hegelian understanding of the idea of State and spring from thoughts he held from the time he came under the influence of this mind.

How far this estimate of the idea of State has also a leaning towards Monarchy will occupy our attention in studying Leo's political activity. In its relation to political liberty it stands paramount. Political liberty as liberty in itself, Lassalle believes firmly, cannot establish a social order in which everybody is given the indispensable basis for his personal advancement, eco-

<sup>1</sup> Wallrode's demokratische Studien. Hamburg 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 157.

conomic security. Only when a social interest is placed behind liberty, can liberty have any importance and become an inducement for the bourgeois or citizen. This was according to Lassalle the case with the French revolution of 1789. It was a revolution in which the modern middle class overturned the old feudal society. Under Napoleon they fought against feudal Europe for the landed property taken from the emigrants, for the abolition of the existing monopolies, for freedom of competition. The question was how to break the yoke of feudal production in industry and agriculture and secure respect for the liberty of capital.<sup>1</sup> For such aims the bourgeoisie had energy and was filled with enthusiasm. Mere political liberty, on the other hand, is not important enough for the bourgeois and can never inspire him to make sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> For this reason Lassalle later placed the social interest of the working classes as a motive behind the acquisition of political liberty.

With Münzer liberty holds the first place although he, too, wants to see the fatherland united. He hopes for better conditions than the large number of thrones and the multitudes of churches for the present allow (667) but this hope is rather for liberty which can be secured by abolishing those two institutions than for unity which is possible only by their destruction. In all his utterances (45; 416; 666) as in those of his radical friends (573) liberty stands first and he speaks in the same breath of the liberty of Europe (411). The revolutionary conspirators, led by him, have the watch-word "Liberty" and "Death" (574). This difference between Lassalle and Münzer, equivalent also to that between Spielhagen's spokesman in *DvH* and Münzer in this point,<sup>3</sup> it may be said in passing, corresponds with that which existed between Mons, the step-brother of the novelist, who, at a time when the Nationalverein was not yet thought of, frankly demanded the unity of Germany under the lead of Prussia, and Spielhagen, who in 1847, professed only that liberty which might be realized in a republic.<sup>4</sup> It would not be difficult to find some correspondences also in the characters of Münzer and the novelist as he was at that time.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 119; 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Der italienische Krieg, etc.*, p. 54. *Arbeiterlesebuch, Frankfurt 1863*, p. 63-65.

Cp. Oncken, I. c. p. 320-21; Brandes, I. c. p. 81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Henning, I. c. p. 20-21.

Beside the difference in the estimation of liberty in relation to German unity, that in respect to the equality of men is quite pronounced. However, as this question holds a prominent place in the labor movement of Leo-Lassalle it suffices here to say that Lassalle always fought for equal political rights for the workmen, and not for social equality. When he, like Münzer, worked for putting them into power he was far from thinking of a war of extermination against the ruling classes, as the other is said to do (646; 500). According to Lassalle, the period of the fourth estate began in 1848, they want to make their principle the ruling principle of society. In this estate is contained no germ for the growth of new privileges because it is the last and outermost social class, and therefore, synonymous with all mankind. Their liberty is that of the whole human race and their rule the rule of all.<sup>1</sup> Lassalle does not intend to start a separate movement with the working classes but to raise the democratic banner in general.<sup>2</sup> In the endeavor to realize the ethical idea of State which always leads him he works for the adjustment of all oppositions in the social strata.<sup>3</sup> From conviction and by virtue of his political principles a true democrat, Lassalle was a consistent and victorious defender of universal and direct suffrage, the champion of a kind of government by the masses which history never saw before.<sup>4</sup>

## 8

Which now is the form of State in which the ideas of liberty and unity are to be realized? In order to attain his aims Münzer will blow up the structure of modern society, externally so stately and internally so wormeaten (731), abolish the State as governed by the police and erect a single German social republic (386; 731; 735). As time passes, his aims become international. He wants to change the German national movement into a European, even a cosmopolitan and enters into lively negotiations with republicans of other countries (500).

Such aims were far from Lassalle's mind. They must rather be ascribed to Karl Marx. He was international and thought

<sup>1</sup> Arbeiterprogramm. Oncken, I. c. p. 219-20.

<sup>2</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch, May 19, 1863. Oncken, I. c. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 29.

of the whole world at once. He believed equal social rights procurable only in a social democratic republic, free from religion, and his ideal was a confederation of European republics. Lassalle, on the other hand, thought only of Germany and in a certain sense of Prussia alone. It may be that Münzer's internationalism is a reflection of Lassalle's revolutionism which manifested itself still in 1861 during his journey in Switzerland and Italy, when he went so far as to call on Garibaldi in Caprera in the interest of Liberty.<sup>1</sup> But he reminds his master Marx: "Do not forget that you are a German revolutionist and that you want and must work for Germany" in Febr. 1860, and is the champion of nationality as one of the forces of the century while Marx treated with contempt national contrasts and national states.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, Lassalle was by nature a personality with the impulse to act. He always felt as a politician who had to set to work in the State into which he had been born, and against which he never cherished the hatred of the exile. It is anyway questionable whether he was a champion pure and simple of a republican form of State. The conflict of his revolutionary republicanism with his strong leanings towards aristocracy which appears also in Münzer was pointed out above.<sup>3</sup> While the latter, however, never vacillates in respect to the form in which he works to erect his State, Lassalle was always given to inner struggles and conflicts concerning his position in relation to monarchy. To judge by the numerous utterances contained in his early speeches, writings and letters, he must have been a confirmed republican, yet just as early indications are found which speak for the contrary. Republican by feeling, it was natural that the events of 1848/49, the period of Reaction, the Constitutional Conflict and not the least, his intimate association with the radical wing of the democratic party should have strengthened his leanings towards a more liberal form of State. His decided feeling for justice in union with a spirit of contradiction and opposition, which often led him blindly, made him see in the acts of Frederic William IV nothing but absolutistic arbitrariness with the purpose of robbing the people of their rights acquired

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 26.

by the revolution. Well versed in French history he knew to what dangers political liberties were exposed because of despotic desires of the kings by the Grace of God. On the other hand, Lassalle was, as we have seen, an enthusiastic worshipper of the Hegelian idea of State in respect to Prussia-Germany. He could see only in the Prussian State the reality of an ethical will, or in Prussia alone that State in which the ethical will could be realized. His hope for a united German empire, too, has been pointed out. It may be said that in some of his writings he pleaded for this unity. Though for the greater part of his life the ideal of a united, republican Germany attracted him like Bismarck, who confessed to have sometimes believed the republic to be the most sensible form of State, many facts taught Lassalle that a republic in itself by no means warranted that ideal State he was striving for, and led him to the belief that only monarchy could take care of the interests of the whole people.<sup>1</sup> He had also a deeper understanding of the historical forces of religion and national ideas than his radical friends and saw in the conditions which confronted him no obstacles for the beginning of a change. He had very early become convinced that for a long time yet he would have to reckon with the idea of monarchy. He, therefore, often said he was asking the State only for its little finger. Eminently practical he was always ready to compromise with, and to lean on, the ruling powers. The republican form of State had thus for him not that importance it had for Münzer, and consequently a difference in the choice of means which both employed in the pursuit of their aims is to be stated.

Münzer has "wie die Personifikation des dumpfen Grolles, der heimlichen Erbitterung, der namenlosen Leiden, sie, die Sklaven der Armut und der Unwissenheit, sie, von denen keiner sich zum Widerstande gegen den Druck und den Stoss eines ärmlichen Geschicks emporgerafft, das furchtbare Wort: Revolution buchstabieren und lesen lassen, durch wohl gesetzte Reden aus ihrer Apathie aufgerüttelt und aufgeschreckt" (729). When after the first storm of the revolution the ruling classes have picked up courage and Reaction feels itself again in power the means Münzer has in mind take more and more the

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<sup>1</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 73-74; cp. below p. 149.

shape of violence. Like Lassalle<sup>1</sup> he has become convinced that political questions are essentially questions of "Who has the greater power?"; questions which can never be answered by sentimental policies, such as he with his democratic friends until then have advised and used. He has decided to carry his ideas through by any, even the most extreme means (391). Iron must heal what medicaments have been unable to cure and many a pyre must burn before the choke-damp of the State ruled by the police shall be so purified that a free breast can breathe in it. The art of healing the sores of the State with the medicaments of gradual reforms will soon be exhausted, and then the ultima ratio of kings will be also the ultima ratio of the people (412).<sup>2</sup> The rights of humanity in one hand and the sword in the other, only in this way will liberty make its way through the nations. For the dull souls of priests and the haughty hearts of aristocrats cannot at once beat for liberty and become without transition enthusiastic for brotherhood. Might is still considered right, and therefore right must be mightier than might (45); a burgher army must be created that the people in arms can be disarmed and the sores of the State be healed (412).

Such vigorous speech was often uttered by Lasalle. He was well persuaded of the impotence of ideal right if not maintained by practical minds and strong wills that knew how to choose the right means and measures for its realization. The revolution of 1848/49 in which right miserably succumbed because of idealistic dread of any other weapon than that of the word, had taught him the weakness of this weapon. He belonged to a new generation who had learned to give their ideals a sound armor and a strong sword.<sup>3</sup> His drama is full of expressions indicative of his esteem of might and force as the props of right. Years before the blood and iron of Bismarck, Lassalle appealed to the "eherne Lose", iron is to him "der Gott des Mannes", "die Zauberrute, die seine Wünsche in Erfüllung schlägt," "der letzte Hort, der in Verzweiflungsnacht ihm strahlt", "seiner Freiheit höchstes Pfand", and among his bellicose expressions appears also Münzer's ultima ratio (412).<sup>4</sup> It is one of the main traits of

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 80-82.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. below p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 42; 39; 44.

<sup>4</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch May 19, 1863; Oncken, l. c. p. 320.

his character, the impulse to act and to give practical proof of his powers, which always breaks forth. As a young man of 23 he reproaches the National Assembly with having only passively resisted the coup d'état of Nov. 1848, in exclaiming: "Der passive Widerstand ist der innere Wille ohne äussere Tat,"<sup>1</sup> and in view of the lack of energy and blunted power of the Liberal parties over against Reaction, his praises of iron as the God of man can surprise nobody. He has the deepest esteem for real power, and his Hutten exalts as passionately as perhaps only Heinrich von Treitschke did, to quote Oncken, war as a force in the history of the world furthering civilization. Everything great in history has been and will be brought about by the sword, and:

"Est ist die Macht das grösste Gut des Himmels,

Wenn man sie nutzt für einen grossen Zweck."

This accords in sound with the music which Bismarck had in mind to compose for solving the question of German unity.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt, Lassalle goes sometimes too far in the use of expressions of force.<sup>3</sup> He who intended to influence the workingmen ethically also could be expected to teach the masses that the power of the mind stood much higher than the strength of the fist.<sup>4</sup> That he did not do so, may find its explanation in the fact that from the beginning of his political work the men of the French Convention had been his ideals, and might and its possession gradually became to him everything.

But this does not mean that Lassalle earnestly thought of employing brutal force as it is Münzer's intention. Right and Might are the two poles around which the star Lassalle revolved and the main activity of his political mind was the consideration of how Might and Right stand to each other.<sup>5</sup> This problem was deeply implanted in him during the German revolution. The rights of the people, universal suffrage included, successfully expressed by this movement have been violated by the Prussian Constitution and the imposed suffrage of 1849/59; Might, therefore, rules in the State. Lassalle took this problem up again during the Prussian conflict in 1862 and with a thorough understanding of political realities could hold it up against the Liber-

<sup>1</sup> Assisenrede, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. e. g. "Was nun?" p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 38.

als who thought of settling it by fighting it out as a formal legal question, by asserting that the Progressionists did not stand on the ground of right but on its violation.<sup>1</sup>

Lassalle works for Right having the necessary Might as support, and Might not acting without Right. In "Freigeboren" (292) he says, that his and Bismarck's principal maxim is: Might goes before Right, but while the Premier's is a brutal de facto, his is de facto and de jure. Right, he believes, is the greatest Might and will in the end carry the day. The secured rights of the people which in the last instance coincide with the rights of man are to his mind the necessary condition for the lofty building which Bismarck is going to erect. Right must be the adequate expression of Might. During the Conflict Lassalle declares in Berlin, April 16, 1862, that the Constitution of a country, if it is to be its fundamental law, must be an active force which makes, by virtue of necessity, all other laws and legal institutions what they are. This active force is identical with the actually existing conditions of power; they determine all laws and legal institutions in such a way that they can be no other than they actually are. When these actual conditions of power find expression in writing they become law and legal institutions. Questions of Right are questions of Might as Münzer, too, says (147; 391).<sup>2</sup> The actual constitution of a country exists only in the actually existing condition of power, found in the country.<sup>3</sup> Lassalle voices these thoughts in order that the Constitution of Prussia be the expression of the actual conditions of power existing in this country. His speech is an historical investigation. He does not think of advising his audience the use of brutal force for giving expression to the actual conditions of power. Rather, he was compelled by the misunderstanding which his speech caused among his adversaries, who interpreted it as demanding that Might go before Right, to declare in his pamphlet "Macht und Recht" that for Right to go before Might was his own ethical standpoint and wish. But while Right should go before Might, Might goes in reality before Right until Right has gathered sufficient Might behind itself to shatter the Might of wrong. The history of Prussian Constitution has in his opinion consisted in

<sup>1</sup> Hochverratsprozess; Oncken, I. c. p. 402, cp. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> "Ueber Verfassungswesen"; Oncken, I. c. p. 211 ff.

a series of violations of the law, and in the Prussian State nobody is entitled to speak of Right but the old and true democrats. They alone have clung to Right and never lowered themselves to compromises with Might.<sup>1</sup> The imposed Constitution of 1849/51 being the expression of Might over against Right, Lassalle continued the attitude he took in his Assisenrede in refusing to take part on this legal basis in the political life of the New Era.

Such an understanding of the idea of Right sufficiently defends Lassalle against the accusation by the Liberals of thinking of putting Might in the place of Right. Indeed, the firm belief in the victory of Right over Might which as early as 1848 was voiced in his "Kassettenrede" as a warm youthful enthusiasm rising from his innermost soul<sup>2</sup> and which caused him to reproach the Government with drawing Right from the mouths of the cannons and considering soldiers and rifles reasons, while he insists that the sword is never the Right,<sup>3</sup> has never allowed him to forget that he wanted to be the champion of Right against Might.

The difference in the meaning with which Lassalle and Münzer speak of the use of strong measures becomes more manifest when we consider the two as revolutionists.

Münzer wants to receive his inheritance here on earth, not leaving it to time to bring about the necessary reforms (302), and is ready to break the privileges of the ruling classes, even by a war of extermination (650). He fights for his social theories, for realizing his idea of a new world (412) and tries to organize (125) and bring the social revolution (666) to a successful close (302). He wants to blow the sparks into a mighty flame (676) and takes up arms for a social, at least a republican, cause (666).

Very likely Lassalle, too, would have been carried away by his "glowing soul" to join his friends in their revolutionary rising in 1848/49 if good luck had not kept him behind prison walls at the critical moments. He was by nature a revolutionist and in his youth, as his diary shows, this was equivalent to having revolutionary tendencies, in the ordinary sense of the word,

<sup>1</sup> Macht und Recht. Offenes Sendschreiben. Zürich 1863. Oncken, I. c. p. 244 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Assisenrede, p. 16; 26; 48. Arbeiterprogramm, p. 8, etc.

against absolutism and nobility.<sup>1</sup> After the failure of the German revolution he works to keep up the fire of radical agitation among the working classes in Düsseldorf, to awaken in them a class spirit so that as he writes to Marx, June, 1852, the next revolution should find them a more compact and conscious material than they were in 1848/49. As a revolutionist, too, he writes his *Sikkingen* and his "System der erworbenen Rechte;" for the starting point of these two works is the German revolution and their aim the desire to forge the theoretical weapons for a new revolution.<sup>2</sup> But Lassalle soon learns to know that, as he writes Marx in 1860, playing revolution with the working people is of no use. Neither practical nor theoretical results can be shown in this respect, although he has done his best to spread among them culture and the consciousness of their class interests. He is always in hopes that foreign events may give an impetus to a new revolutionary outbreak in Germany, but as he is disappointed in this, he becomes more and more aware that historical ideas, like religion and monarchy, are still actual realities. And so it comes, that large parts of his revolutionary *Sikkingen* already appear to be the work of the Liberal-democratic unitarian who with a deep respect for historical ideas, still representing actual realities, wishes for the absorption of the smaller States and thus voices the desire dominant even in the camp of democrats that Prussia might become the leader of all German races in a new empire.

How far Lassalle would have gone to meet the monarchy is, because of his early death, impossible to state precisely.<sup>3</sup> At all events, the word revolution has in his later development for him a different meaning on the whole than for Münzer. It is true, that self-interest compelled him at his trials to deny most vigorously ordinary revolutionary imputations and some allowances must be made for certain utterances of his on this point.<sup>4</sup> But after all, when he as early as 1849 confesses to be a revolutionist by principle,<sup>5</sup> and repeats this assertion frequently in later years,<sup>6</sup> there is nothing to be found in his writings, speeches

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 26; Harms, l. c. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 166; 178-79.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. below p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 369.

<sup>5</sup> Assisenrede, p. 32; 49.

<sup>6</sup> Arbeiterprogramm, p. 7; An die Arbeiter Berlins, p. 13; Hochverratsprozess, p. 12; Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter, p. 14, etc.

or actions that would cause one to interpret the word revolutionist in Lassalle's mouth by anything else than social evolutionist.

To be sure, he believes that a political revolution, under certain circumstances, is preferable to a legal reform which may require centuries to be brought about while a revolution leads quickly and vigorously to a practical result.<sup>1</sup> But being convinced of a coming revolution which he says will either occur in full lawfulness, and with all the blessings of peace, if the Government is wise enough to decide early on its introduction<sup>2</sup>—or approach within some period under all convulsions of violent force with wildly waving hair and iron sandals on her feet, he has taken up the task to teach the working classes to improve conditions reasonably and change only their "chemical functions" when the coming revolution shall set in.<sup>3</sup>

And then, a revolution can be accomplished in deep peace. Revolution is to Lassalle a change which puts a new principle in the place of that existing; reform on the other hand means the preservation of the existing principle and its development to milder or more consequent and juster demands. A reform can be accomplished by insurrection and bloodshed. The horrible German peasant wars were the attempt at a reform by force of arms; the invention of the cotton spinning machine of 1775 and the peaceful development of modern industry are gigantic revolutions.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, a revolution can be successful only when it is the intended expression of a condition of things which exists already in fact. Lassalle, therefore, even when he called himself before the court in May, 1849, a decided partisan of a social-democratic republic, could truthfully say that in his speech at Neuss he had warned his audience against proclaiming a republic because such an act would to his mind be a treason to the common cause, and would throw the apple of discord among the people who must marshal themselves about the offended law (the dissolution of the National Assembly without any right, etc.),<sup>5</sup> while the proletariat at that time wanted nothing but

<sup>1</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Oncken, l. c. p. 225; cp. Leo I 296.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Leo I 395; 509.

<sup>3</sup> Die indirekte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen; Oncken, l. c. p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter; Oncken, l. c. p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Assisenrede, p. 29; 4; Oncken, l. c. p. 65.

to help the middle class protect their liberties, rights and laws. For the time to realize his ideals in a social republic had not yet come; their fulfillment belonged to the future. But Lassalle believes in revolutions. The law is only the expression and the written will of the social body. When the need of the social body has changed, then the old code belongs to the museum of history; in its place steps the new image of the present.<sup>1</sup> The same opinion is repeated 1862, no one can make a revolution; one can but give external recognition and a consequent execution to a revolution which has already taken place in the actual conditions.<sup>2</sup> Every revolution has been made in the hearts of society months before it comes to life under volleys.<sup>3</sup>

It sounds honest when Lassalle mocks at those who on hearing the word revolution at once think of "brandished pitchforks"<sup>4</sup> or when he, one of whose best and greatest traits was the worship of the achievements of German thinkers and poets, becomes indignant at the imputation of his being an ordinary revolutionist and exclaims:

"Wie? Es hat sich jemand in einem faustischen Triebe mit der zähesten, ernstesten Mühe durchgearbeitet von der Philosophie der Griechen und dem römischen Recht durch die verschiedensten Fächer historischer Wissenschaft bis zur modernen Nationalökonomie und Statistik, und Sie können im Ernste glauben, er wolle diese ganze lange Bildung damit beschliessen, dem Proletarier eine Brandfackel in die Hand zu drücken? Wie? Hat man so wenig Kenntniss und Einsicht in die sittigende Macht der Wissenschaft, dass man dies auch nur für möglich halten kann?"<sup>5</sup> It seems hard to agree with Oncken (370), when he also in this passage sees an expression of Lassalle's denying in his self-interest before the court any practical-political element in his speech to the Berlin workmen.

A revolutionist Lassalle remained to the last of his days, but, in contrast with Münzer, an ethical Hegelian aim qualifies his activity. The revolutionary socialist—he calls himself such in a letter of Jan., 1862—considers with Lothar Bucher the possi-

<sup>1</sup> Asslensrede; Oncken, I. c. p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Arbeiterprogramm; Oncken, I. c. p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Asslensrede, Oncken, I. c. p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter; Oncken, I. c. p. 251-52.

<sup>5</sup> Die indirekte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen, p. 117; Oncken, I. c. p. 370.

bility of overthrowing the existing conditions in Germany. They agree that a change of society is the *sine qua non* for a revolutionary victory. Lassalle shows to the future right hand of Bismarck that his social program has an ethical content, endowed with the force to create out of itself a new society, to see the political form as its formal consequence and to become the basis of a new ethics.<sup>1</sup> Changing political forms without establishing a new principle of an ethical nature, appears to Lassalle neither philosophical nor revolutionary, and his principle is Hegel's conception of revolution which is equivalent to social evolution.<sup>1</sup> It explains Lassalle's further political conduct as well as proves the great difference existing between him and Münzer.

There was originally nothing antimonarchical in Lassalle's labor movement; indeed, years after his death his followers would rather vote for a Conservative Representative than for a Radical. During the most passionate agitation and the most vehement persecution by the bourgeois, Lassalle never gave his party the slightest hint to make practical use of his theory of succession. In his historical investigations he had come to the conclusion that such a right of succession is but the title of the social body to the testator's estate, devolved on the heir.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this there is no passage in Lassalle's writings or speeches that could be interpreted to be so much as a wink to his friends to change social conditions by a revolution and abolish private property as a theft to the common-weal.<sup>3</sup> His economic writings contain some utterances which say there is the indisputable right to make that property of the future which has not yet been created the property of labor through a new form of production, but he exempts capital in existence since it has been produced in legal accord with existing conditions.<sup>4</sup>

We have arrived at the end of our comparison of the political activities of Lassalle and Münzer. We have seen that both agreeing in many points of character and talents are driven by similar influences to the desire of changing and improving the existing social conditions. Münzer attempts the realization of his ideas, with a social-political struggle of Germany in the background,

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 200; 203.

<sup>2</sup> *System der erworbenen Rechte*; Brandes, l. c. p. 49-69.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 136.

which appears to be builded on the formal revolutionary idea underlying Lassalle's historical drama "Franz von Sickingen." Both fight for the rights of man against the ruling classes and demand the devotion of the individual to the State as the highest ethical union and totality; but they estimate the ideas of liberty and unity of the fatherland differently. A united fatherland seems to Lassalle more important and desirable as offering the exclusive possibility for the development of liberty than liberty itself, while Münzer fights in the first place for liberty. There are essential differences in their aims and the means they advocate for their attainment. Münzer becomes gradually an international republican, who by an armed revolution wants to establish the equality of all; he may be called a composite picture of some radical exponents<sup>1</sup> of a socialistic current starting during the German revolution, and a Lassalle of pre-epochal days. Lassalle, on the other hand, thinking first of Prussia-Germany in his political activity, has tendencies which can come to terms with monarchy. From a vivid sense for what right means he is revolutionist by principle, i. e., in the scientific meaning of the word. In fact, he works for a more rapid social evolution and fights only for political equality of the working classes and the proletariat. The external political activities of Münzer and Lassalle agree only in some minor points.

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<sup>1</sup> Like Marx and Kinkel.

## III.

## LEO GUTMANN, THE SOCIALIST.

## 1.

Münzer holds the lower middle class responsible for the failure of the revolution. They have betrayed the proletariat to the bourgeois who, with material favors, have bought the protection of the nobility. But he foresees also that the bourgeois will tire of paying tribute to the ruling class and, in union with the lower middle class and the proletariat, will take from them the control of the State, trample under their feet at the moment of victory the stupid dwarfs who have fought their battles, and rule henceforth alone, almighty on their thrones of money bags (666). In DvH it was chiefly the noble class that denied the proletarian an existence worthy of man, in IRuG — the severity of social differentiation is universally felt only in the period preceding the revolution (I 71; 124) — it is the bourgeois party, the party of almighty capital, against which Leo Gutmann is to fight in the interest of the proletariat (II 177).

Leo has found an alluring field for his activity through the socialistic influence of Tusky<sup>1</sup>, who, however, does not take him entirely into his confidence (I 212) and conceals from him the dire consequences of his teachings of liberty and equality (I 221). When the revolt which has been fostered by his friend (I 167; 170; 174) breaks out at last, Leo is only an onlooker, and this becomes quite important for his future. He is caused to ask himself whether his teacher is the right hero to bring about the liberation of the people. The rôle Tusky plays in the revolutionary rising against the worldly masters, military and church authority and tradition (I 171; 173; 175; 178) fills him with doubt (I 212; 215; 220-21) and the horrors of forceful suppression disgust him. Still he follows Tusky when he must flee (I 228). For

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 34.

among all people he esteems and loves him most (I 222; 229), and Tusky, his best friend (I 514), has as long as he has lived, loved no one so well as Leo (I 193). Both continue abroad their revolutionary work as Lassalle and Marx did in the Rhenish provinces, and their further relation to one another reminds one strongly of that which existed between these historical persons.

As Lassalle became acquainted with Marx only after having taken up his residence on the Rhine<sup>1</sup>, so Tusky, a man like a force of nature, must be considered the personification of the radical socialistic tendencies with which Lassalle became acquainted in Breslau, blended with the influence which Karl Marx afterwards exercised on him.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that the character of Tusky has been drawn from the physician, Dr. Friedrich Kuschke, who became Spielhagen's friend during his residence in Leipzig 1854-1860.<sup>3</sup> But if the chronological statements are taken into account, Tusky and his revolutionary activity up to his flight are evidently only the poetical pictures of Lassalle's earliest acquaintance with social questions. Of course, it is not to be expected that a novel should be chronologically exact. Spielhagen fixes for obvious reasons the time of Leo's main activity several years earlier than that of Lassalle's actually took place as we shall presently see. In the same way he had attributed to Schmitz in DvH progressionist thoughts which Schultze-Delitzsch uttered at a considerably later time.<sup>4</sup> IRuG begins with events which occur about 30 years after the great war (of Liberation) (I 16; 19; 39), i. e., in the fall of 1843. The following year Leo is 17 (I 116; 163). His birthday is in spring, consequently he was born in the spring of 1825, corresponding to Lassalle's birth on April 11, 1825. The revolt nourished by Tusky, breaks out in December, 1844 (I 240), and about three months later the French resp. German revolution of 1848 occurs. The scenery in which the novelist takes us is Thuringia,<sup>5</sup> one of the sites of the revolutionary events is Tuchheim. His father was the oldest son of a forester in Tuchheim in the Altmark and generations of his ancestors had followed this profession.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious that this family history has contributed to

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Tusky's characterization I 187-89; 207; 219; 230-31.

<sup>3</sup> Henning I. c. p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Henning, I. c. p. 19; 1; 19.

the description of the forester family in the Tuchheim of IRuG. It would seem, however, that Spielhagen chose this name from the following incident, which plays quite a rôle in Lassalle's political activity. A weaver deputation of Wüste-Giersdorf in Silesia, after an audience with King William I in 1854, received through Bismarck's intercession some money from his private purse for an industrial enterprise on which the description of Leo's socialistic experiments apparently is based. Although Lassalle had nothing to do with this case, he made use of the success of the deputation in his Ronsdorf speech of May 23, 1864 by declaring that his labor agitation had influenced the king to promise the workmen in the "Tuchfabriken"<sup>2</sup> owned by the Progressionist Representative Reichenheim a State regulation of the labor question. From the "Tuch (fabriken" of Reichen) heim to Tuchheim appears to be a short step in Spielhagen's manner of giving names. At all events, this deputation hails from that district in Silesia where in the spring of 1844 the weavers prepared their uprising, "the blood-judgment" which a few months later was suppressed with great bloodshed. Following his principle of using models the novelist places this revolutionary event in the forest of Thuringia, the beautiful country which he loved from the moment he saw it.<sup>1</sup> Tusky's revolt is, then, but the poetical expression of the rising of the Silesian weavers. Lassalle was just leaving for Berlin when it was being prepared, but it had acquainted him with its problems of social distress.<sup>3</sup> So Leo is only a spectator in the revolt which his friend has aroused.

But while Leo has already been informed by his teacher of the great gap existing between the rich and the poor and of the power of capital, it was only after the rising of the Silesian weavers that Marx impressed it on Lassalle. For it was Marx, who saw clearly in its very beginning the difference between the bourgeois and proletarian, that taught his disciple the importance of the working classes and introduced to him the doctrines of socialism. Leo is enormously indebted to Tusky (I 514; 222). But in the charmed circle of the latter he is only an impetuous youth without clear aims, and this corresponds fully to the socialism of the younger Lassalle. It was of a purely utopian kind.

<sup>1</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 31.

At the time of the German revolution, Lassalle was not thinking of any differentiation of the third estate and when he spoke of the rights of man or of the people he had the whole burgherclass in mind and was not aiming to secure for the working class, as such, political liberty and social uplift. Marx and his partisans, on the other hand, recognized the particular interests of the proletariat within a capitalistic-industrial society which began to develop in Germany after the revolution of 1848. They immediately set about to realize the ideas of communism.

He led Lassalle gradually into the science of pure and unadulterated socialism. It was especially Marx's "*Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*" of 1857 which showed Lassalle the importance of the fourth estate and convinced him that the organization of the masses would convert the proletariat into a mighty force.<sup>1</sup> That is why he originally intended to start his agitation in union with Marx. He felt deeply the superiority of the latter in everything which was connected with economics. Gradually, however, their relation became less intimate. It does not seem as if Marx appreciated his passionate young fellow-combatant during the revolution<sup>2</sup>, as Tuský does, however, and during his subsequent exile<sup>3</sup> he writes only when he wishes for something, and does not comply with any request made by Lassalle. It is the latter who always makes the advances. He looks up to the former and adapts himself, however, without any surrender of views. He is in sympathy with the hardships of the exile, and lends him money, but Marx does not return his friendly feeling. He is even more susceptible to the gossip of fugitives than confidence in a friend should have allowed.<sup>4</sup> It was Marx's fault that their correspondence came to an end in the fall of 1855, and only in the spring of 1857 did Lassalle, after his return to Berlin, resume it.

During these two years Lassalle's life took a decided turn. The legal combat with Count Hatzfeldt had ended successfully in 1854. The amateur lawyer received henceforth a yearly income of 4000 thalers and could now devote himself to his learned studies. There was at that time no possibility of realizing his poli-

<sup>1</sup> Harms, I. c. p. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 66; 391.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. IRuG I 338.

<sup>4</sup> Tuský knows more about Leo than the latter suspects II 595; cp. also Tuský's letter I 323.

tical aspirations. The issue of the Crimean War destroyed all hopes that it might lead to a European conflagration and Lassalle was tired of playing revolution. He sought permission to return to Berlin to finish his *Heraclitus* and was at last permitted to do this under police control in the spring of 1857. After a short intermission, in which he was compelled to leave Berlin by order of the police, he was given by decree of the Prince regent in November, 1859, the liberty to take up his permanent residence in the capital.

The next few years were the preparation for Lassalle's complete break with Marx. As early as October, 1849, he had written the latter that to his mind no further combat would succeed which should leave the social question in the background, and appear mainly as a national movement, or in the garb of bourgeois republicanism. He sees the guaranty of the success of the democratic ideas only in their union with social problems and becomes convinced that the possibility of a purely "red" uprising is very slight. Like Marx he is watching, therefore, the development of European affairs as the condition for a possible turn favorable to their aims. But foreign affairs proved to have little influence on Germany. Lassalle had new hopes when in the fall of 1857 the king fell sick and the progress of his ailment made a lasting regency by the Prince of Prussia unavoidable. This predicted a complete change in the inner affairs of Germany, and consequently Lassalle kept quiet in order not to lose his chance to return into the political arena at the moment of such a change<sup>1</sup>. Never having detached himself from the national State as Marx had done, he could call to life a social democracy, the immediate aims of which were to conquer his native State.<sup>1</sup> The political content of his drama points to those aspirations which were qualified by the changed constellation of the New Era.<sup>1</sup> It shows its author on the point of turning from a radical idealist into a realistic politician, of becoming the revolutionist who strives for his last aims within the existing State. Its decisive problem, the "deceiving of the idea," is deeply founded in Lassalle's own nature. It is not only the problem of all revolutions, but of all practical politics which longs to cling to its principles but in the actual world must compromise in their execution if it

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 106; 75; 112.

wants to see results, and Lassalle, whose whole nature demands actions, must attain something.<sup>1</sup> He conceals his ultimate aims and sides with Prussian unitarians.<sup>1</sup>

He is very different from Marx in this respect. He wishes to act as politician in the State in which he was born, and which, as has been said above, he did not hate with the hatred of the exile. He sacrifices some republican scrupulousness, which he deems only formalities, and, supported by Alexander von Humboldt, addresses a petition to the Prince regent June 15, 1858, for permission to reside permanently in Berlin. He says nothing about this petition to Marx, and this is significant. Marx would never have handed in such a request, because he felt wholly international. He had long ago advanced to a conception of history that knew of greater developments than national states.<sup>1</sup> He continued working for a revolution like Tusky (II 596-97), while Lassalle had become tire of such.<sup>1</sup>

Besides their disagreement over Sikkingen, of which, too, we have spoken<sup>2</sup>, that over the Italian war contributes further to their separation. Lassalle wishes Prussia to remain neutral because he fears that a fight against Napoleon will strengthen the ties between the king and his people and prevent any revolutionary movements. Marx, on the other hand, wants to see Napoleon crushed that the French republicans may breathe again and the European hearth of revolution be kindled anew. From the standpoint of European liberty he sees in Austria the less formidable obstacle; Lassalle, from the standpoint of German unity, considers that reactionary country the most dangerous adversary. His teacher has lost all feeling for the imponderables of the national State. With every turn the differences in their political thinking become greater.<sup>3</sup>

Agreeing in their social revolutionary convictions, it is surprising to find that there are, after all, few of Marx's thoughts to be found in the writings of Lassalle till 1862, in spite of his admiration for his teacher's economic work of 1857. His thoughts are busy with the problem of how to put their principles into practice. He longs eagerly for the long deferred beginning of practical movements as against theoretical activity.<sup>4</sup> Herein his

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 130-31; 146; 144; 88; 90-91.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 142-43; 152-53; 158.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Engels, March 21, 1859; Oncken, l. c. p. 373.

thoughts differ essentially from Marx's. It results in personal animosity. Marx sees in any transaction with other social groups a weakening of their principles, while his disciple defends the policy of uniting as far as possible with the related groups of the democratic Left.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, when William I mounted the throne, January, 1861, and an act of pardon permitted former fugitives to return to Prussia, Lassalle asked Marx to come to Berlin. Here, during the contest for power of the different political groups of the kingdom, he intended to take up again the action which, because of the failure of the revolution of 1848, had been cut short on the Rhine, and to tear a social and democratic labor movement from the wing or even from the back of the Liberal parties<sup>1</sup> by establishing a paper like the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Marx came for a short stay to Berlin in the spring of 1861.<sup>2</sup> But, having lost Prussian citizenship and not being permitted by the police to regain it, he was prevented from standing at the side of Lassalle as either friend or foe when the latter opened his new political activity of the next few years. In his place Lothar Bucher came to exercise a good influence on Lassalle. During his exile in England he had learned that only real forces govern historical developments. With this realism gained by experience, he stood now at the side of the agitator's radical idealism and helped it further along on its way to political realism. It was with Bucher instead of Marx that Lassalle took counsel on his next political plans, which put in an appearance in his speeches "Ueber den besonderen Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes" on April 12, 1862, published later under the head-title, "Arbeiterprogramm," and "Ueber Verfassungswesen," on the 16th. He had found his way and was looking for assistance. He tried to win Marx, and a complete rupture of their relations was the result. Their correspondence in 1861 on Lassalle's *System der erworbenen Rechte*, which did not find the expected approval of Marx with his materialistic understanding of history, had put their friendship to further trial. In July of that year Marx ceased to continue the correspondence, with the exception of a short note in the follow-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 152-54.

<sup>2</sup> Tusky's return II 459? Cp. the time of his short note to Leo as agreeing with Marx's to Lassalle in Sept., 1861, above p. 12, below p. 94.

ing September, and when, in June, Lassalle answered a letter of his teacher, sent at the end of April, 1862, he could tell him with a manifest satisfaction what he had accomplished in the meantime and announce his impending visit to the London Exposition. Here, in July and August, they saw each other for the last time.<sup>1</sup> It came to a complete political and personal rupture. Marx disapproved the Arbeiterprogramm and refused to work with its author. He saw that his disciple had wandered too far from his teacher's ideas. Indeed, at the close of 1862 Lassalle showed his complete change in theory and tactics by throwing a bridge to Rodbertus, the first Prussian State socialist who believed in a strong autocratic power which best could solve the social problem, and saw, therefore, in the regulation by the State of all production the necessary panacea. The only point of importance which separated them was universal suffrage, to which Rodbertus was opposed.

Spielhagen's intimate knowledge of everything which relates to Lassalle is again evident when we consider the utterance by Marx on the cause of his rupture with his former disciple, made in 1868, i. e., after IRuG had been published. Marx blames Lassalle for having allowed himself to submit to the immediate political circumstances. He made, Marx writes, his opposition against a dwarf like Schulze-Delitzsch, State-help against self-help, the center of his agitation; he could do this for the sake of practicability only and had to make concessions to the Prussian monarchy, the Prussian reaction or Feudal party and even to the clerical. His common suffrage is a mistake, as France shows, and in not seeking the actual basis for his agitation in the real elements of class movement, but prescribing a certain doctrinary recipe for the course of the latter, he disavowed all natural connection with the former revolutionary movement. This utterance gives, also, proof for Lassalle's invitation to Marx in London to place himself in union with Lassalle at the head of the new movement. But Marx refusing it, Lassalle alone and by his own initiative, became the leader of the German social democratic movement.<sup>2</sup>

As Leo's political activity after his choosing his own way will prove to correspond, in many respects, with Marx's criticism just

<sup>1</sup> Tusky returns to England after his visit in Berlin, II 598.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 233-34.

given, so, too, all the steps leading to a separation of Tusky and Leo can be found in Spielhagen's representation.

If we leave aside the friendship between Tusky and Leo, which is more intimate than that which ever existed between Marx and Lassalle and presumably must be considered a monument to Spielhagen's friendship with his strange and unhappy friend, Kuschke, whose life story underlies that of Konrad Wild in "Ultimo,"<sup>1</sup> Leo's character is just as unlike that of his teacher as was Lassalle's unlike that of Marx. It was a matter of course that he should outgrow the domination Tusky was exercising over him. He begins to see that the latter and his kind start from the principle that the old has simply to be overthrown in order to permit the new to grow of its own accord, and believes this is at the best the philosophy of Titans by which the cosmos will go to ruin. Tusky's party, moreover, always deliberates only questions of coups de main and makes no progress since it operates with unorganized forces (I 323).<sup>2</sup> Leo, while listening to plans which have been discussed a hundred times, determines to make an attempt of his own in some other way. He becomes a realistic politician by deciding to employ disciplined forces for his aims. An act of amnesty allows him to take up his residence in the capital. This love of the fatherland on the part of Leo reflects Lassalle's desire to work in his native State, even if it cannot be said that he longed to live in Berlin, the great city where the destinies of the German revolution were to be decided. Though, like Leo, he had given all his thoughts and efforts to the revolution, his energies were now concentrated entirely on his scientific work, as documents show over against the older belief of which Spielhagen makes use.<sup>3</sup> This love compels Leo to return from abroad. Only in the fatherland can something good be done, and real liberty can go out to the nations only from Germany. Leo has a high opinion of his countrymen. The liberty which he has found in England, France and the United States of America is not that liberty which must be the lot of the Germans, for over there the people cannot trace premises into consequences (I 295). His studies are the sufferings

<sup>1</sup> *Finder und Erfinder*. II. 353-65; Henning, I. c. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lassalle's opinion on the organization of the masses and transactions with other related groups which already have been organized, above p. 91; 94.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 92.

of mankind, especially those of his own nation. They are connected with the social evils which only a great political reform, perhaps only a complete revolution, can heal (I 295) wherein an agreement with Lassalle has to be stated.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of the separation which has now begun, Leo keeps up a kind of connection with Tusky. Whenever he undertakes an important step he tries to come to an understanding with his teacher as Lassalle in all his actions allows himself to be strongly influenced by Marx's opinions and, whenever he is about to lay his plans, examines them from his master's standpoint, as his letters show and we pointed out above.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.

In contrast with the political life of Münzer that of Leo is drawn almost wholly from the historical activity of the founder of German social democracy. Even where at the first glance differences seem to exist they will at a closer examination appear as poetical representations of thoughts or actions which Lassalle expressed or performed.

Seven years after the revolution of March — about as long as Lassalle was not permitted by the police to live in Berlin — Leo returns to the capital, the city where the revolution took place, the battlefield on which the destinies of his people will be decided. That is why he has to come here, in contrast with Lassalle, who, as has just been pointed out, had other interests which urged him to seek permanent residence in Berlin. But Leo comes with true Lassallean faith in himself, the faith which fixes the limits to his ability only in his will.<sup>3</sup> He is sure, as of his life, that he is going to wield some day the power which he needs for curing the sick people, the power of bestowing liberty on them (I 296, cp. 265). He proposes to make his way, and this way shall lead upward. For today, as well as thousands of years ago, the destinies of nations lie in the hands of the mighty (I 271). As Lassalle expresses it when he answers Marx's statement, that the fall of the reactionary Sikkingen was an historical-philosophic necessity, the transforming and deciding efficacy of individual resolutions, not the critical-philosophic view of history, is the

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. also Harms, I. c. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 372.

implicit supposition for revolutionary activity, the ground for a great deed.<sup>1</sup>

After having satisfied the police (I 253) who were intent on keeping all persons with bad political records away from the capital, at the time of Lassalle's endeavor to be allowed to return to Berlin, Leo joins the Liberals. This conforms also to the history of Lassalle, who, because of the success of his *Heraclitus*, became a member of the Philosophic Society of Berlin November 28, 1857, and so entered into intercourse with people belonging to the Liberal parties while he was led, through his publisher, Franz Duncker, the proprietor of the "*Volkszeitung*," the paper of the Berlin lower middle class, into contact with the democratic wing of the Liberals. It may be said in passing that the heroine of "*Freigeboren*" being modelled on the wife of the publisher,<sup>2</sup> with whom Spielhagen was on terms of intimate friendship, is, therefore, a good authority on Lassalle, which is proved also by her agreement with Oncken.<sup>3</sup> While the Democrat was now prevented by police supervision from being active politically after the completion of his *Heraclitus* and while the working class, in addition, as yet without a class spirit, were marching in the train of the democrats of the *Volkszeitung*, the time was to come when he should take an attitude towards these Liberals such as Leo takes.

The king, who, in order to be a god, lacks only that immortality which he might have secured by resolving to become the father, the benefactor of his people, by placing himself under their protection, proclaiming the republic, himself its president, by accomplishing great deeds, a peaceful revolution such as the world never saw (I 270), has been reigning four years, but has only ruined the rich inheritance of the revolution and brought at an enormous expense Reaction into the country (I 271). Leo finds that the Liberals exhibit no energy in their fight against Reaction such as he deems necessary, nor do they do anything for the solution of the social problems. Instead of re-enforcing themselves from those classes from which they themselves have come, they lean on the cousin of the reigning king because in their contest with the reactionary government they feel that they

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 125-26.

<sup>2</sup> Henning, I. c. p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 9.

lose the ground under their feet (I 312). So Lassalle reproaches the Progressionists for coquetting with the princes.<sup>1</sup> For Leo stands on the side of the proletariat (I 494). He distrusts the Liberalism of the prince and his friendship for the people in which the Liberals believe.

Dissatisfied with the compromises the Liberal parties make with the party of the prince, who antagonizes the Government, Leo goes his own way. An open rupture, however, does not yet take place, for he differs from the Liberals only in the choice of means (I 350). He writes pamphlets on the social and political questions with truly Lassallean vigor: *Quod medicamenta non sanant, ferrum sanat*, etc. (I 296), and from a lofty viewpoint and with a penetration unheard of in the trite doctrines of the Liberals (I 282). The new House has convened (I 285). In a way that recalls to mind the famous theft of the valise in the Hatzfeldt affair — Leo also acknowledges his moral complicity as Lassalle was accused of it (I 454; 489)<sup>2</sup> — undeniable proofs of the reactionary disposition of the prince fall into the hands of Leo. A letter of the prince, addressed to the archenemy of all European liberty, shows its writer to be a decided antagonist of all constitutional governments and a cynical scoffer at the aims of the Liberal parties. As Lassalle endeavored to make the Progressionists decline any negotiation with the Reactionaries, so Leo, with the help of this letter, does his best to separate the Liberals from their protector, and to spur them to greater activity (I 368).

But informing them of the contents of the letter has not the intended effect, and the gap that has opened between Leo and the Liberals widens. He advocates "Staatssubvention" (I 349—Lassalle's "Staatsintervention")<sup>3</sup> in a (progressionist) workingmen's union or club, which, as might be expected, arouses bad feeling among the Liberals, the enthusiastic champions of self-help. They work harder to regain Leo, to save his great power from error, perhaps from ruin (I 385), and, although the ideologists among them are opposed to making further concessions to the party of the prince (I 397), they do not meet Leo's demands (I 398). He sees the approach of a social revolution which will

<sup>1</sup> "Die Feste, die Presse, etc."; Oncken, l. c. p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 15. Cp. above p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 312.

be terrible because selfishness prevents the different parties from preparing to break its force (I 395),<sup>1</sup> and because where a deeper understanding of social questions exists there is impotence or fear (I 395).

Against the Liberals, who do nothing but talk while the people starve (I 398), Leo writes at the end of winter (I 405) a pamphlet, "What they ought to be and what they are" (I 427), hoping to rouse them from their lethargy and show them the futility of their discussions (I 433). In this pamphlet we recognize Lassalle's speech, "Ueber Verfassungswesen," of April 16, 1862, in which he calls on the unorganized forces of the Prussian social body to enter with a democratic program into the fight of Might against Right.<sup>2</sup> Leo's pamphlet creates the greatest sensation in the political circles of the capital (I 416). No one before has brandished with such mastery the lash of sarcasm.<sup>3</sup> The capitalists see that Leo intends to make use of the labor question, which at the present stands in the foreground, to push himself into the highest political spheres, while he works openly against them as the representatives of a moderate Liberalism, ready for concessions to the Government or the princely party (I 425).

But the pamphlet has, after all, just as little effect as the information given about the letter of the prince. Leo is now convinced that the Liberals are not acting honestly towards the people and sees that he must over-ride them (I 398). But his pamphlet means an open quarrel with the Liberal party (I 425). Leo sees that the pack have felt his lash,<sup>3</sup> but he still determines to chastize them with scorpions (I 427). In contrast with Tusky, he plans, however, not only to tear down, but to build up. His old teacher has warned him by letter against any attempt with the Liberals<sup>4</sup> or with the monarchy, although Leo, says he, finds here the power which he respects above all. Between these two on the one hand, and the revolutionary radicals on the other, no alliance is possible. But Leo has learned (I 181) that he who will accomplish something must also will the means (I 325) and resolves, after his ill success with the Liberals, to make a trial with the monarchy.

1 "Die Indirekte Steuer, etc.," Oncken, l. c. p. 369. Cp. above p. 84.

2 Oncken, l. c. p. 214.

3 Freigeborn, p. 289: 288.

4 Cp. above p. 94. Marx is opposed to transactions with related social groups, over against Lassalle.

Such a trial is all the more tempting as the labor question stands in the foreground. While the House is in session (in the same old humdrum way), disturbances break out in the spring (of 1858) in the district of Tüchheim, where, after the rising of 1844, factories have been built. Leo sees that Tusky's friends have well prepared the ground during the past years. He will make use of these disturbances, for he sees that his time is ripe. He now feels the power in him to give the movement that direction he pleases: "Anvil or hammer! there is no third way" (I 434). Since nature and circumstances have made him a lonely man, even as Lassalle counted himself among the "ohnehin so Vereinsamten" who defend the poor<sup>1</sup>, so Leo will not march in rank and file with the Liberals, but bring to life in his own way what he first dreamt and then knew to be real (I 439; cp. I 542). He does not want to come to an understanding with the ideologists, which he is asked to do in a rejoinder of the Liberals (I 433), a situation which reflects perhaps a judgment on Lassalle by the democratic *Volkszeitung* of January, 1863.<sup>2</sup> They fight their battles always in the pure ether of thought and their blows, therefore, are wont to strike the empty air. These, sentimentalists as they are, intend to do great things, but allow themselves to be turned from their paths by private considerations. The anguish of soul with which he himself has successfully contended for liberty gives him the right now with cold blood and a clear head to employ his means for his great aim, whatever may be the opposition from these visionary, good souls. He knows what sad rôles these play in the rough world of pitiless realities (I 434).

Leo sends out a second pamphlet — a combination of Lassalle's *Arbeiterprogramm* and *Offenes Antwortschreiben*—in which the common man reads with surprise to what great things he is called (I 451). Hereby we are reminded of the words which Lassalle addresses to the working people in his *Arbeiterprogramm*: "Die hohe weltgeschichtliche Ehre (to be destined to have their principle the ruling principle of the whole social body) muss alle Ihre Gedanken in Anspruch nehmen." This pamphlet causes the government party to jubilate over the boldness with which Leo has uncovered all defects of the Liberal parties, whereby again

<sup>1</sup> Die indirekte Steuer, etc.; *Kapital und Arbeit*; Oncken, I. c. p. 356; 348; cp. below p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 244.

we are reminded of Lassalle, whose *Offenes Antwortschreiben*, with its attacks on the Progressionists as the self-styled champions of the labor interests, called forth the joy of the Government and the party of the \*Zeitung (I 452). At the same time the letter of the prince is published in foreign papers and shows the man on whom the Liberals secretly have founded their hopes to be a genuine reactionary, a despotic character (I 452). The publication creates the greatest stir and consternation, and only the young king is happy over the general confusion from which he is in hopes to come forth as the savior of his people. It contributes to make him curious to meet Leo.

Leo founds a new workingmen's union of his own, in which he teaches his partisans the need of using the State in their behalf (I 454). The strike in Tuchheim has been brought about by new factory regulations of a rigorous character. In consequence of the establishment of mills, the poverty which formerly was prevalent there and in the neighboring villages has taken another still more disheartening form instead of decreasing. The mills are prosperous, but the capitalists, the extortioners, lower the wages (I 461-62). Leo stirs the fire to harm also in the eyes of the rest of the nation, the Liberal parties among whom the capitalists occupy prominent positions (I 483). The Left decide to make a motion in the House in the interest of labor in order to regain the ground they have lost (I 500). In view of this possible help, and because of the writings of Leo, and his intercession with the Baron von Tuchheim in urging him to declare publicly that the regulations have been made by the capitalists — the principal among them is the banker Sonnenstein=Leonor Reichenheim?<sup>1</sup> — against his will, the workmen in Tuchheim believe that there are still people left with hearts good to the poor. As a result of the last general workingmen's meeting<sup>2</sup> they send a deputation to the capital to win some more influential men, especially among the members of the House, since without help they must either submit or use violence, as their resources are exhausted. If they should learn that there could be no help at that moment they are resolved to be satisfied, provided that they are promised that their cause will be espoused earnestly, vigorously and with all means possible (I 506). The deputation, how-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 90; below p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. below p. 104.

ever, have seen that they need an intelligent, well-meaning man to help them with counsel and deed in the large city and to become, as it were, their attorney. They think at once of Leo, who by his writings has shown them how close to his heart is the cause of the laboring class, and, having grown up among them, is truly their foreman (I 506).

We have already spoken of the deputation from the Silesian weaving district, who had an audience with King William I in May, 1864<sup>1</sup>. In Wüste-Giersdorf in Silesia was a cotton mill which had been the property of the State till 1848. It was then sold cheaply to the Progressionist deputy Leonor Reichenheim by the Liberal Minister, Hansemann, who, as Lassalle says in his Ronsdorf speech of May 23, 1864, of course, found it incompatible with the principles of Liberalism that the State should be a manufacturer. The workingmen of that mill, he continues, contend in their petition that they were always in comfortable circumstances and humanely treated so long as the mill was State property, but that since 1858 they have come into such distress that they have decided to send a petition and deputation to the king.<sup>2</sup> As the deputation of Tuchheim comes in the spring (of 1858)<sup>3</sup>, we have here evidently the deputation from Reichenheim-Wüste-Giersdorf. But Spielhagen has combined with it a deputation which came to Lassalle and helped him to make history.

The Silesian deputation knew nothing of his Arbeiterverein and his writings when they turned to the king. But, as he himself says in his Ronsdorf speech, before they were admitted to an audience, they addressed Lassalle also with the confession: "Only the State can help us — in the hands of the manufacturers we are lost." Their petition to, and audience with, the king stood in no connection with Lassalle's agitation. But his Arbeiterprogramm, with its magnificent defense of the all-embracing task and duty of the modern State, his trials and speeches in his defense had drawn the eyes of other workmen on him. What Lassalle proclaimed was something different from the eternal song of the Progressionists, who apparently saw no misery among the labor classes. A German workingmen's congress was being planned after the London Exhibition of 1862, but the project found

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. in regard to chronology I 478; 506.

no encouragement with the Progressionists of Berlin, where at a meeting in November, representatives also of the Leipzig labor interests appeared. Indeed, the Liberals were opposed to a political emancipation of the workmen and treated accordingly the representatives of the Leipzig labor classes when they again came to Berlin in January, 1863. What the political leaders of the Liberal parties failed to do Lassalle did. In his speech of Jan. 16, 1863, "Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter," he had again unfurled his flag. At the end of this month a friend led to him the Leipzig representatives, who had applauded his Arbeiterprogramm, and the result was that on Feb. 11, 1863, the Central Committee of the Leipzig (Progressionist) Bildungsverein asked him to express his opinion "über die Arbeiterbewegung und über die Mittel, deren sie sich zu bedienen habe, um die Verbesserung des Arbeiterstandes in politischer, materieller und geistiger Beziehung zu erreichen, sowie besonders über den Wert der Assoziationen für die ganze unbemittelte Volksklasse." Lassalle issued March 1, 1863, his "Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Zentralkomitee zur Berufung eines allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiterkongresses zu Leipzig" (Zürich 1863), and gave thus the impulse to the founding of the Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein May 23, 1863. Over against the free individual associations which the bourgeois, the Progressionists, believed to be the best means for solving the social problems of the working classes, Lassalle points out that State-help is "das einzige Mittel, um die materielle Lage des Arbeiterstandes zu verbessern." It would seem that the novelist intentionally speaks of a general workingmen's meeting in Tuchheim (I 506)<sup>1</sup> in analogy with this general German workingmen's congress to which Lassalle proposed his means for the improvement of the labor classes, as Leo does to the Tuchheim deputation.

The dream of his childhood and of his years of exile that he might some day be asked to become the tribune of his people in their fight against their oppressors has become true. He sees by the request of his old friends that he has not worked in vain (I 507). Lassalle, in a letter of September, 1860, states that he has devoted, at the risk of his life,<sup>2</sup> his whole existence to a sacred

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 190; cp. above p. 26.

cause, the cause of the people, in its furthest consequences, affirming what he had written July 19, 1841, in his diary. Two years later he could write that, having formed a new party in Germany which had a political importance and represented a force,<sup>1</sup> he had not worked in vain since political interest had awaked again in the hearts and the life of the people<sup>2</sup>. So Leo is conscious that he has not become faithless to the oath of his youth. Therefore, he must tell the deputation that their welfare lies only with the monarchy. He tries to convince them that the bourgeois, the party of almighty capital and wicked, unrestrained extortion of the working classes is that part of the House in which they put all their hopes. It is not the powerless nobility nor the crumbling church which resist their demands for an existence worthy of man. Their tormentor and extortioner, the owner of the mills in Tuchheim, the banker Sonnenstein, is a very influential member of the Liberal party (I 508). Leo singles out Sonnenstein just as Lassalle had directed his attacks at Leonor Reichenheim, who used to speak eloquently in the House as the Representative of the people, but behaved, like other manufacturers, very unsocially in his mills at Wüste-Giersdorf and dismissed those of his workmen who had had the audience with the king in May, 1864. The name Reichenheim would seem to be Jewish, and Baron von Sonnenstein is of Jewish descent. Both having a corresponding position in history and in the novel, Leonor Reichenheim may be stated to have been the model for the drawing of the banker Sonnenstein. Perhaps we may go a step further and say that a part of his first name has furnished Spielhagen with the name for his hero in IRuG, the more so, as "Leo" also reminds us of Lassalle, as we pointed out above<sup>3</sup>, and the whole then may be a symbol expressing Lassalle fighting against capitalism as represented in Leonor Reichenheim. However this may be, Leo tells the deputation that there are only two ways open to them: a revolution from below which, because of being hopeless, would only put them under a heavier yoke, or, as neither the House nor the bourgeois party can or will help the working class, the revolution from above, which springs from the power destined to serve the people.<sup>4</sup> The king is the only one who by

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Ansprache an die Arbeiter Berlins of Oct., 1863; Oncken, I. c. p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 84; 100.

breaking the fetters of capital can help the laboring class. The monarchy has broken the yoke of feudalism; it must and can break that of capitalism before it disappears from among the political formations and means of educating mankind.<sup>1</sup> A republican tendency is spreading in Europe, but as natural, so political formations develop according to strict laws and only gradually—Lassalle's evolution.<sup>2</sup> (I 510). If monarchy does not want to help the workingman, he can have the recourse to revolution at any time. Leo foresees that the House is going to do nothing for the labor interests at the approaching meeting. If he mistakes not, the deputation may return to counsel further with him.

Some time ago he had seen himself in his dreams as the ruler of the ruler (I 431). The advice he has given the deputation has spontaneously led him to a clearer understanding of his own future conduct (I 511). He has decided to attempt to rescue the modern "poor Konz" with the help of the monarchical State. As Lassalle, by founding the Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein, shows himself a realistic politician who rightly judges the active forces of the State, and comes to terms with them by taking them into his service, so Leo henceforth engages in purely practical politics. He works to become in the shortest possible time a power within the State as it is, for only with power can the individual do much for the ailments of the State (I 296); he struggles to compel the State to interest itself in the working people and with all the means at his disposal, to imbue the ruling powers with the idea of the labor question.<sup>3</sup>

But this task is harder than he has imagined. He had begun, with fire in his soul, his political activity after having experienced the dissatisfaction of Lassalle in 1861<sup>4</sup> of being condemned to inactivity, and now, after having formed his own party, he meets with no success. He has the same experience as Lassalle, who finds it the greatest difficulty in Progressionist Berlin, to be heard by the workmen, and labors here in vain.<sup>5</sup> Lassalle's Berlin club had, in Dec. 1863, 200 members, the following February only 35, and is soon dissolved like Leo's

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Degenfeldt-Fichte-Lassalle's demands for education by a despot for liberty, above p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 84; 86.

<sup>3</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 61-63.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 391.

(I 545; II 345), and the progress of the *Arbeiterverein* was a continual disappointment to its founder. In his belief in the compelling force of the idea, he knew the labor question not so much from practice as from books, and did not know nor live with the workmen.<sup>1</sup> He remained always the *grand seignior*. He finds the apathy of the masses enough to drive him to despair, forgetting that outside of his writings he had done little for his agitation. Thus his calls for recruits, sent out into the world at the expense of almost superhuman force, were lost or met with very little success. His disappointment appears very clearly reflected in Leo's.

The vote of the House on the labor motion having been adverse, Leo, to redeem the word with which he has pledged himself and his future to the deputation from *Tuchheim*, does his best that they might have an audience with the king. But he fails; his indifferent friends do nothing for him, and his enemies make the audience impossible (I 517-18; 540). The Liberal papers condemn his rôle of protector in the matter of the labor deputation (I 539), as Lassalle's action of sending his *Offenes Antwortschreiben* was termed unheard of by the papers of the Progressionists, and likewise the private character of Leo is placed under suspicion (I 539). By some he is directly called an instrument of reaction (I 543; cp. II 565), as Lassalle was said to stand secretly in its service, in order to arouse the suspicion of the working people against him. Leo has also the same cause for complaint, which Lassalle voices a short time after the founding of his workmen's union, when he says everything would be better if the working people had done their duty, but his enemies had been more active than his friends.<sup>2</sup>

Leo is convinced now that the load, he intended to move, remains unmoved. The immense work he has done, during the past weeks, has been to no purpose. He will attend yet a meeting of his union which he has called, voice once more his conviction that the poor, ignorant people cannot attain welfare and education through their own strength and effort, and then leave town. But he does not think of giving up politics altogether. He is for the moment discouraged at not having the power for

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Leo I 350; *Freigeboren*, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 162.

an effective public activity, like Lassalle, who writes to the Countess Hatzfeldt, July 28, 1864; “. . . Ich wünsche nichts sehnlicher als die ganze Politik los zu werden . . . Ich bin der Politik müde und satt . . . Zwar, ich würde so leidenschaftlich wie je für sie entflammen . . . wenn ich die Macht hätte oder ein Mittel sähe sie zu erobern - ein solches, das sich für mich schickt.<sup>1</sup> denn ohne höchste Macht lässt sich nichts machen!” Leo’s plans having miscarried in the capital, he feels he must use more forceful means now from another center (cp. II 160-61). He has attempted to make peace with his opponents, but now war shall rage henceforth between him and the Liberals, the falsifiers of truth (I 543). So he speaks at the meeting of his union, in a Lassallean manner, of the right without truth which rules, and uses likewise the means which Lassalle considers as simple, as unfailing, the teaching of that which is (I 548).<sup>2</sup> His enemies create a disturbance, Leo is arrested.

Through the intercession with the king by some relatives, he is freed after three days—Lassalle, after a meeting of Nov. 2, 1863, had been broken up, was arrested when he delivered another speech Nov. 22, 1863, and was freed on bail after three days.<sup>3</sup> Leo is then granted a meeting with the ruler<sup>4</sup> who wants to see the man who has aroused his interest by the publication of the letter of the prince and has caused him delight at the discomfort of his hated cousin (II 73). Leo makes a deep impression on him by proposing a Volkskönigtum, a kingdom based on the people, as the best means for the solution of the existing social problems (II 136-37). The Radicals (Marx and friends?) have been so much agitated over the labor question and yet make as little progress as the Liberals, who likewise draw their strength only from this ground. Both parties are the parasites with which the State suffers. The physician, Leo, can remove them, that it may gain an unhopd for strength. For ever since he has been able to think, he has pondered over the solution of this task, and is sure he has considered all its important points. The king must,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> “Was nun?” Zürich 1863. Cp. below p. 128; 139.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Oncken, I. c. p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> Social democratic historians think that influential friends, perhaps the Countess Hatzfeldt, brought about the meeting between Lassalle and Bismarck. The latter, however, has denied this, cf. Oncken I. c. p. 322. It would seem as if Spielhagen in creating these relatives who intercede for Leo has thought of similar attempts to explain Lassalle’s entering into intercourse with Bismarck. But cp. below p. 141 ff.

under Leo's guidance, take the labor problem into his own hands (II 139).

Leo finds employment in the private office of the ruler, and is enabled, by his purse, to buy the Tuchheim mills, and to try on them his socialistic doctrines (II 251). Soon after, he writes an expert opinion on the possibility and usefulness of establishing, with the help of the State, similar institutions in all parts of the country (II 320). So, also Lassalle endeavored to prove, in his Frankfurt speech of May 17, 1863, the possibility of his Produktivgenossenschaften or co-operative societies, the financing of which, to his mind, could be done with 100 million thalers, a sum which the Prussian State might easily raise for such a highly important purpose.<sup>1</sup> Leo's next move is to win the public over to his new doctrines (II 320), as the General German Workingmen's Union was to win public sentiment for its aim of establishing common, equal, and direct suffrage in a legal and peaceful way,<sup>2</sup> that the next House—he is said to have dictated the message with which the last House was closed (II 220)—might grant the means needed for opening similar institutions in all parts of the country.

The king overwhelms him with evidences of his favor. But Leo's position is considered very unsafe by his friends, or by those who hope to gain something by his present influence over the ruler, because he has made many enemies, and the king cannot be trusted on account of his inconstancy. The king is not the rock on which Leo can build his church (II 378). This reminds us of the words Lassalle addressed to the workmen in his Arbeiterprogramm: "Sie sind der Fels, auf welchem die Kirche der Gegenwart gebaut werden soll."<sup>3</sup> Leo desires no position in the new Cabinet which is forming, because he does not wish to be lost among the crowd. His ambition is not to enrich the State by an official (II 283). But in order to be able to command—for the masses cannot govern themselves; they must be governed, but it would be hard for one individual to do this (II 284)—he is advised to make sure of support from whatever source he can, above all, to march first in rank and file with the army of officials (II 283), to build up family connections

<sup>1</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch, Frankfurt, 1863; Oncken, I. c. p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Die indirekte Steuer, etc. Oncken, I. c. p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. below p. 133.

(II 287), and to accept the patent of nobility the king offers him (II 330). He is also asked, out of deference to the romantic make-up of the king, to join the church (II 332). He perceives the wisdom of these advices; he looks for a wife who can cloak his low descent with her old nobility (II 319). He becomes vice-president of a church association composed of people of the highest classes, after he has defended the cause of nobility and church (II 356); he makes up his mind to accept the knight-hood (II 346).

But all this is of no avail. Because of his position to the question of how the kingdom should act in the war which has broken out between a friendly power (Austria) and two Southern States (Italy and France), Leo incurs a still greater enmity from the princely party. They are ready to join the friendly power because they see that the moment has arrived to procure the kingdom that influential position which is its due, and to place after a doubtlessly successful war, the prince on the throne, and make him the protector of the German empire (II 417). Leo, on the other hand, tries to dissuade the king from giving up neutrality, and writes an expert opinion for him on the political situation (II 465) — Lassalle's pamphlet "*Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens, etc.*" The party of the prince does its best to counteract his influence. That they may have their way, Leo must fall. The complainants are too much for the king. He calls his favorite, bidding him to quiet those who are dissatisfied with the king's attitude at the defeat of the friendly power, the news of which has just arrived (II 442). Leo endeavors to convince the king that the only way to free himself of all troubles is: Abolition of slavery, i. e. annihilation of the proletariat in the free State of the future which, by command of the ruler, will at once be made the present (II 487). Such a command would not bring about a rising of all Europe against the king as the latter fears. For the interests of the nations are in solidarity. Luther broke with the hammer with which he nailed his theses to the door of the court church at Wittenberg, the doors of all protestant churches on the globe. Let the king speak the word for which mankind has been waiting — and he has freed not only Germany but the whole world. Such confidence was Lassalle's, when he published his *Offenes Antwortschreiben*, as he confesses

in a letter of March 8, 1863. He had hoped that it would have an effect like those 95 theses which Luther once fastened to the court church in Wittenberg.<sup>1</sup> Leo declares himself ready and able to form a new Cabinet. The king asks three days time for reflection, but no sooner has Leo left him than he makes peace with the war party and drops his former favorite. The socialistic experiments of the latter have failed; violent acts and murder take place in the mills. Leo, like Lassalle, falls in a duel, which is more of a private than a political nature.

## 3

While thus the political activity of Leo appears at every decisive step to be built upon, and also in the general chronological order to agree with, the history of Lassalle's life, there are a number of correspondences to be found under the epic dress with which the novelist has clothed them, especially in the activity of Leo after his meeting the king. Some of them serve the purpose of characterization rather than narration. While all of them, because of their disconnection, might find the most fitting place for their explanation in a commentary, we will consider them here, by grouping them under the heads of Leo's position towards the Liberal parties, his quest of means for improving the economic conditions of the working classes, and lastly, his connection with monarchy and church.

Leo turns away from the radical revolutionary propaganda and, as champion of the proletariat, takes his position beside the Liberal parties. He aims to imbue them with a new spirit and then to bring about a coalition with the labor classes (I 323). It is thus the *Arbeiterangelegenheit*, the labor question, to which Leo's political activity is above all devoted. His relation to the Liberals depends on their attitude toward this pressing question. As the example of Lassalle has served for the description of Leo's political activity, so his Progressionist adversaries have stood model for the drawing of the Liberals in *IRuG*, in a qualified sense, however. For although Spielhagen places the events of his story only about five years earlier than Lassalle's epoch-making activity, and although the thoughts for which the Liber-

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<sup>1</sup>Harms, l. c. p. 49; Oncken, l. c. p. 277.

als of the sixties fought, had, in part, been active for centuries, we hear nothing of the Prussian Constitutional Conflict over the army bill introduced in the House of Representatives in 1860, a conflict which was to create the Progressionist party, Lassalle's chief political opponents. While the bill was favored by the Liberals as an increase of Prussian power for international emergencies, it meant at the same time, because of some of its features, an immense strengthening of the power of the crown. It represented also tendencies in contrast with those which were developing in the House and among the people — a situation reflected, perhaps, in IRuG, in the opposition of the Liberals to the conservative-reactionary tendencies of the princely party. To escape from this dilemma the Liberals sought to weaken the reactionary sides of the bill, and when they did not succeed a group of them formed the Progressionist party, distinguishing themselves henceforth from the Old-Liberals, not by principle, but by their tactics and fixity of purpose.<sup>1</sup> This difference Spielhagen seems to have transferred, in a different sense, however, to Leo and his Liberal opponents, who also differ from one another only in the choice of their means, as we have seen. While the Old-Liberals tried to lead the crown back into the moderate ways of the New Era, the Progressionists set their minds on subjecting the crown to the House. That is, they sought to procure for Liberalism and the middle class the leading position in a fight to the finish against the ruling class, thus aiming to take hold again of the helm lost in the fall of 1848, while placing the national interests in a secondary position. But the king, who, as prince, like the middle class, had been opposed to the reaction of the fifties, and in Oct. 1858, had lent a hand to a constitutional regime, could not continue surrendering one piece after the other of the power entailed upon him, he could not agree to the removal of the strong props of the State organized in the army of military and officials for all the love of freemen with their imperious claims in a share of government. The army bill only exposed an opposition of long standing; at the bottom of the Conflict lay the political contest for power between crown and

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 51-53.

Parliament.<sup>1</sup> This Conflict of extraordinary historical importance which outlived Lassalle gave him the occasion to throw the workmen, a decisive factor, as he believed, into the balance, and what interests us here especially, gavè the Progressionists their peculiar character as contrasted with Liberalism in general. Furthermore, when Lassalle returned to Berlin, he found the people very little "entmonarchisiert", as he writes, and without class spirit, following the leadership of the middle class democracy, represented in the "Volkszeitung."<sup>2</sup> There was hardly any labor question when he entered the political arena in April, 1862. When his historical importance has rightfully found its reflection in Leo's raising this labor question, the novelist, both in DvH and in IRuG, contrary to history, proceeds to apply the economic problems of the workingmen to the whole country in the manner of Marx and his friends. Spielhagen's characterization of the Liberals, therefore, hardly presents a complete picture of the adversaries of Lassalle and — Bismarck, nor were the ruling powers against which the socialistic Democrat started his war, as soon as he could again be active politically, the reactionary whom Leo finds upon his return to the capital. Reaction as actually opposed to the Progressionists is overdrawn in IRuG by party-political prejudice,<sup>3</sup> in that it does not appear as the expression of a Government which was working to solve the German question.

At the head of the State, when Leo enters the political arena, stands a young, highly talented king, susceptible to new ideas (II 164; 262), endowed with an incredibly vivid imagination and of a vanity, which promises to make him the tool of any one who knows how to persuade him to be a reformer (I 77). A romanticist who would favor the reintroduction of the worship of the saints (II 374), an enthusiast in art (II 89), religious, and yet not free from moral failings (II 31; 536), inconstant, capricious, full of contradictions (II 89; 81; 97), animated by the vain desire to be the doer of his deeds (I 77), the spoil of the combat between the spiritualist and the materialist in him (II 81), he is the representative of the kingdom "by the grace of God." Instead of bringing the revolution to a peaceful com-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 195 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 154-55; 104.

<sup>3</sup> Henning, l. c. p. 198.

pletion, he has called reaction back into his country (I 270), because of the solidarity of dynastic interests (I 519). The arbitrariness of the police, the rule of bureaucratic satraps (I 257;-253) deprive life and freedom of the necessary air (I 248-49). The home is no longer the citizen's castle (II 205; 402). The right of assembling is abolished (II 402) and the press laws are applied against tendencies deemed dangerous to the community or as revolting against divine and human regime (I 411; 434). The king himself is not free from despotism, and sneers at the constitutional State (II 25), with the state's attorney as the almighty man, and at the paragraphs of the Constitution which restrict the liberty of royal actions (II 29). He mocks at his responsible ministers who, through lack of intelligence, will end by bringing the so-called Constitution into such ill repute (II 30) that the people will at last be glad to be ruled by the king himself.

Very little love exists between the ruler and his ministry on the one hand, and his cousin and his party on the other (II 73;-392). The prince who, to all appearances, will soon ascend the throne, contends against the party of the responsible Government for the deciding influence in the State. The organ of his party is the reactionary \*Zeitung (Kreuzzeitung) (II 93). He will not interest himself in the labor question but leave it to the intelligent king, for, once and for all, he will have nothing to do with the rabble; he wants no government by the riffraff. He regrets sufficiently to have made concessions to the Liberals (I 500).

While it is evident that the young king who dies in the eighth year of his reign (II 603; 615) has been given many traits of Frederick William IV, although the latter at the return to the capital of Leo-Lassalle, was about 60 years of age, it is difficult to recognize in his cousin the later emperor William I. It is true he had been called the "Erzfeind aller Volksrechte", and had attracted the hatred of a large part of the German people by suppressing, at the head of an army, revolutionary risings in 1848-49. But later, in taking the reins of government, in January, 1859, he put an end to reaction, and inaugurated a Liberal era, although continuing to be conservative and "altpreussisch". The prince in IRuG is reactionary, and Spielhagen for practical

reasons, may not have dared to call him the archenemy of all rights of the people, but depicts him only as being in correspondence with the "archenemy of all European liberty" (I 368). Possibly, the fact that a majority of the Prussian army, and even at the bottom of his heart, the Prince-regent, William, himself, favored a war with France in 1859, and the strengthening of the army in the sixties find reflection in the eagerness for war of the princely party, their excellent organization and their reckless offensive attitude, as the Progressionists adversaries interpreted it (II 518).<sup>1</sup> But the characterization of the prince himself is far from an accurate picture of William I; moreover, Spielhagen, in modelling the prince on the later emperor would have broken the principle of not introducing contemporaneous persons into his novels.

For this same reason the novelist, although he felt a deep antagonism against what appeared to him reaction, pure and simple, and even despotism in the new Premier of William's ministry, Bismarck, has not taken the latter as a model for the Prime Minister in IRuG. Von Hey hates Leo, but Bismarck declares Lassalle to have been one of the most intellectual and amiable men he knew, ambitious on a large scale, and energetic whom he would have liked to have had for a neighbor.<sup>2</sup> Leo, on the other hand, finds in von Hey, who pursues only his own ends, no love of mankind nor any glimmer of that which was and will be (I 521; 517-18). But Lassalle had a very different opinion of Bismarck. He was a great admirer of the Iron Chancellor, whose deep knowledge of constitutional matters he praises in "Was nun?"<sup>3</sup> and for whom he confesses to a friend to have written his speech, "Die Feste, die Presse und der deutsche Abgeordnetentag, etc." in Sept., 1863.<sup>4</sup> March 12, 1864, he exclaims in public: ". . . so verkünde ich Ihnen hier an diesem feierlichen Orte: es wird vielleicht kein Jahr vergehen — und Herr von Bismarck hat die Rolle Robert Peels gespielt und das allgemeine und direkte Wahlrecht oktroyiert";<sup>5</sup> and in his Solingen speech of the same year, he says: "Er (Bismarck) ist ein Mann, jene (the Progressionists) sind — alte Weiber."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 20; Oncken, I. c. p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 339.

<sup>5</sup> Der Hochverratsprozess wider F. L. vor dem Staatsgerichtshofe zu Berlin, etc. Berlin 1864; Oncken, I. c. p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 336.

Besides, Spielhagen well knew this admiration of Lassalle for Bismarck. In "Freigeboren," the great Democrat describes with pleasure the terms on which he stands with Bismarck. He sees in him his equal, perhaps at that time his only equal in Germany (291) and applauds the Premier's army reorganization with "fine", his scheme to oust Austria with "bravo" and his eventual plan to establish a new German empire with "bravissimo" (293). The heroine of that novel, too, defends Bismarck. He is right, she says, to break with the talkers of the Progressionist party that his plans may not end like the Frankfurt Parliament (285). As she is the spokesman of Spielhagen, it may be said in this connection that the common reproach that the novelist never respected the greatness of this national hero is absolutely unfounded. Spielhagen has both, in poems and in some novels, given expression to his feelings for the greatness of the Iron Chancellor and enumerates him among the three greatest Germans, as we have pointed out.<sup>1</sup> This respect for the great statesman, no doubt, prevented him from modelling Hey on him. But if we follow the method used in his earliest works as a key, we are led to the equation Hey=H (inckeld)ey, the President of police of whose "white terreur" Lassalle speaks.<sup>2</sup> With Hinckeldey he had an interview in Berlin in the spring of 1855, in order to announce to him that he was going to memorialize the Government for being permitted to reside again permanently in the capital. In his petition, handed in thereafter, May 31, 1855, Lassalle, it sounds almost ironical, seeks to win the favor of Hinckeldey by holding out to him the prospect of a share in the glory of his scientific work<sup>3</sup> which he could finish only in Berlin. Leo, by stirring his ambition and the promise of royal thanks, tries to move Hey to receive the Tuchheim deputation (I 517-18). Both petitions are denied with a few plain words (I 540). A further proof that Hey was modelled on Hinckeldey may be found in the duel in which his brother kills the Baron von Tuchheim (II 16), while Hinckeldey was one of the participants in a famous encounter. He was shot by Hans von Rochow.<sup>4</sup> This would exactly correspond with Spielhagen's novelistic treatment of actual occurrences, as we have shown, in his use of Lassalle's duel.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Am Wege, p. 84; Henning, l. c. p. 215 f.; 217. Cp. above p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Die Feste, etc., p. 3; cp. Brandes, l. c. p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Oncken, l. c. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. R. M. Meyer, l. c. I p. 337.

The reactionary ruling powers, represented by the king and his government on the one hand, and by the prince and his followers on the other, are based on an upper stratum of society which, in their morality and intellectuality (I 308; 340; 347; 294; 276; 494, etc.), are a new edition of the upper classes, which Spielhagen, in his party-political prejudice,<sup>1</sup> painted in *DvH*. While in this novel the representatives of the church are on the whole irreproachable morally, those in *IRuG* preach of Christian love and mercy, but live not by their words (I 56-57; 60; II 172, etc.). They use religion only as a means for governing the rabble (I 115; 127, etc.), and are dishonest in money matters, and immoral in their relation to women (II 525). Notwithstanding, they know in their famous sermons how to report much of the deputies of the devil (I 351). This leads us to surmise that the novelist has modelled *Urban*, the Privy Counselor of the Consistorial Court (if we leave aside his immoralities) on the court preacher Hoffmann, who, under Frederick William IV, continued as an ally of reaction the work which the followers of the famous orthodox theologian Hengstenberg had begun when, in their fear to lose their influence with king and State, they sought by apocalyptic pictures to exorcize the revolution as the work of the devil.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the novelist gives an historically unimpeachable picture of the reaction which preceded the New Era.

But he shows also that the world has changed and the people with it (I 246). The revolution has not been in vain; there are certain results which cannot be undone. The Liberals gather their forces to overcome Reaction. If the restriction, above mentioned (p. 111-113), is taken into account, Spielhagen has given an excellent and true picture of Liberalism as it was when it could breathe again in the New Era. The great spiritual-political movement, sprung from the Renaissance, and nourished by identical elements through the Reformation and the *Aufklärung* as well as through revolutions outside of Germany, with its ethical contents and its ideal of an individual dependent on, and responsible only to, himself who lives with all his talents for his own perfection and the welfare of mankind—this movement after having been repelled for a short time by the failure of the revolu-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Henning, l. c. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Ziegler, l. c. p. 290.

tion of 1848-49, takes, since the beginning of the sixties, the shape of a great current gradually increasing in extent and width. The representatives of this Liberalism in IRuG oppose to dependence and tutelage everywhere the independence and liberty of the individual. To realize their ideal of a free individual they strive for the removal of the barriers set up to human thinking by all Christian dogmas whatsoever, and attack the established churches (I 305). They fight the *virī obscuri* (I 384) because these reproach them with having argued away their respect for God and the king (II 527). They are heretics, some of whom form free congregations (I 306). They revolt against the pressure exercised on the independence of the individual by the absolutistic or bureaucratic State. They deride the Government, which name the brutal police rule has assumed (I 304). They take part in building the house in which freemen shall live at the side of freemen (I 306), and fight tyranny in any form and under any circumstances, whatsoever (I 415; II 218). They oppose every social distinction established by historical, legal institutions, national boundaries, and race. As the Progressionists had many Jewish members among them,<sup>1</sup> so the chief representative of Liberalism in IRuG is a Jew by birth, but stands on intimate terms of friendship with Liberal people of the old nobility. With them the dress does not make the man (II 394); they find that members of the working classes are not more uninstructed or of meaner understanding than hundreds of the highest society. Class distinctions dim the purest springs of happiness, the Liberals contend, and therefore, they in their enlightenment, see in work the true patent of nobility which, in contrast with that obtained by birth, can be won only by merit, and is not exclusive but aspires to receive the whole human race into its ranks (II 216). And lastly they are opposed to every obstacle to an unfettered, economic activity. All these Liberal ideas, however, were in vogue before the Progressionists engaged in their parliamentary contest. Spielhagen combines with them in anticipation, if we leave aside his own ethical idealism and the exaggerated position which, for Leo's sake, he has given to the representative of capitalism, such economic principles of the Progressionists as were to arouse the antagonism of Lassalle. Liberalism

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<sup>1</sup> Ziegler, l. c. p. 552.

met the economic tendencies of the middle class just at the time this class was rising by the capitalistic development. It was adapted to their needs when they thought to obtain political control after the dawn of the New Era. It combined with the economic theories of the school of free trade, the free international exchange of goods and an unhampered activity in all directions. It combined also with the doctrines of the neutral position of the State in regard to this harmonious play of economic forces, or of the restriction of its functions to the protection of person and property. All these economic ideals are shared in, and championed by, the Liberals in IRuG (I 349-50). But because of Spielhagen's siding with the Progressionists we learn nothing of the weak points of Liberalism, its depreciation of the historical importance of the functions of the State in its interior life; its conniving at the social questions of the modern proletariat by interpreting individual liberty, to speak with Lassalle, not as a right for the individual in general, but as a right of the individual having capital;<sup>1</sup> its refusal to confess that its special ideals of self-help were unable to cope with these social problems, and lastly its undervaluing of the historical imponderables of religious matters which made it inept and unproductive in these as it had become in economics. While it was the man whom the Progressionists fought to the best of their abilities, Bismarck, who led the Prussian State to create the empire, greatly desired by them, and shaped it to meet their needs, it is to Lassalle principally that the credit is due of having put the knife to two of the sore points of Liberalism, its conception of State and its attitude towards the social questions. As a man of action he thereby started the emancipation of the workmen from the political and economic tutelage of the middle class.<sup>2</sup>

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At the time when Lassalle prepares the way for the emancipation of the workmen, the Progressionists are the deciding factors in Prussian politics. They hold the leading position in the Parliament. So the Liberals are the dominating party in the House

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<sup>1</sup> System der erworbenen Rechte; Oncken, I. c. p. 183-84. Cp. above p. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 282.

when Leo returns to the capital. Both Leo's and Lassalle's relation to these Liberals takes the same course.

Lassalle became aware that the Progressionist party was lacking energy and ability as compared with the conservative and reactionary, and Leo is for the same reason disappointed in the Liberals. Abroad he could not explain to himself the insufficiency of the means the party employed, and the inconsistency in their tactics. Now he knows it is the fault of the small men who pretend to be their leaders (I 310). He believes that it is nonsense in politics to separate person and things. These Liberals are wretched philistines whose horizon reaches no further than to the end of their noses; empty babblers who try to cover under a confused mass of words their lack of original thoughts; petty critics who in their pendency stick at the dot over an i; sly sophists who know what must be done, but from a thousand sordid motives take care not to speak the truth; ambitious place-hunters who join the Opposition only to use it as a step-ladder to a prominent position in the ministry of State; sports who prefer a good dinner to a good law; puffed up money bags who give no farthing for a liberty by which their stock could fall half a point.<sup>1</sup> The whole party is a political Sodom without a single Lot who deserves to be saved (I 311). Especially those among them who are continually mixing politics with ethics drive Leo to despair. He despises them for allowing themselves to be led by their conscience. They are stubborn in their unbearable purity (I 312), they want to keep their hands clean, with such phrases they try to still their bad conscience (I 398). Honest ideologists, unpractical dreamers, they make splendid speeches on the relation of the good and beautiful and true, and have no strength to accomplish anything. They are men without characters. But there are no talents without characters; men without characters cannot think logically and are subject to false conclusions (I 387). The Liberals, therefore, are bad trustees of the spiritual and material treasures of the nation. They admit the compliment of foreigners that the Germans are a nation of thinkers, but display, by not realizing the identity of thinking and acting, their complete bankruptcy in energy. They will admit that compliment until the genius of the German people shall once more

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 74.

bring forth a man who understands the relation of Right and Might somewhat differently, and makes a nation of acting people out of this conglomeration of apathetic dreamers (I 388). In these chosen of the nation the last spark of the sacred fire died out long ago. They are a caste which once perhaps was needed in the development of German civilization, but has now fully outlived itself. It is arrogance for them to claim to be the bearers of German culture. This treasure which lies buried in the works of the great German poets and thinkers is too heavy, too solid for such hands to lift it. They have cheated the poor deluded people out of its rich inheritance. Not the slightest trace of the nobleness and majesty of their spiritual ancestors can be found in these miserable epigones. They have nothing of the comprehensive cosmopolitanism of a Goethe, the ideal pathos of a Schiller, the fighting courage of a Lessing, the Protestant defiance of a Kant.

It is evident that the author in wording Leo's accusation that the Liberals are not the bearers of German culture, has thought of the "melancholic meditation" at the close of Lassalle's work "Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian oder Kapital und Arbeit" (Berlin, 1864). Here we read:

"Und diese absolute Versimplung des Bürgertums — in dem Lande Lessings und Kants, Schillers und Goethes, Fichtes und Hegels: Sind diese geistige Heroen wirklich nur wie ein Zug von Kranichen über unseren Häuptern dahin gerauscht? Ist von der immensen geistigen Arbeit, von der innerlichen Weltwende, die sie vollbracht, nichts, gar nichts auf die Nation gekommen, und besteht der deutsche Geist wirklich nur in einer Reihe einsamer Individuen, welcher jeder das Erbteil seiner Vorgänger treu übernehmend, ihre Arbeit in bitterer Verachtung ihrer Mitwelt fortsetzen? Welcher Fluch hat das Bürgertum enterbt, dass von all den gewaltigen Kulturarbeiten, die in seiner Mitte geschahen, dass aus dieser ganzen Atmosphäre von Bildung kein

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<sup>1</sup> This passage may have contributed to paint Leo as the solitary thinker, mentioned above p. 101, who lonesome goes through society because he has found so few people earnestly striving to lift themselves over the common crowd, the indolence and stupidity of which bring him often to despair (I 293; 547), a society of fools which at a moment he sees the power he so long has wished for at last in his reach makes him shudder at the thought that he must create a new world with them (I 459). Lassalle expresses his contempt at his Progressionist contemporaries, among whom he walks his lonely path persecuted by State and the Progressionist press, also in "Die indirekte Steuer, etc."; Oncken, I. c. p. 365.

einzigem Tropfen befruchtenden Taues in sein immermehr vertrocknendes Gehirn gefallen! . . . Der Bürger feiert unseren Denkmaler Feste,<sup>1</sup> weil er niemals ihre Werke gelesen! Er würde sie verbrennen, wenn er sie gelesen hätte . . . Er schwärmt für unsere Dichter, weil er einige Verse von ihnen zitieren kann oder dieses oder jenes Stück von ihnen gesehen und gelesen, aber sich niemals in ihre Weltanschauung hineingedacht hat."<sup>2</sup>

As early as April, 1862, Lassalle had started to execute the death sentence on the Liberal party by his pamphlet "Herr Julian Schmidt, der Literaturhistoriker." It was directed against the latter's history of German Literature since the death of Lessing, against the person of the journalistic representative of the Old-Liberals, but also against the whole Liberal party. The pamphlet is the first shot in a political war in which the Liberals, too, did not mind the waste of powder.<sup>3</sup> Lassalle attacks in Julian Schmidt, the defective education of the Liberals, his disordered way of thinking, judging, his language, words which always leer at thoughts, and yet are arranged only superficially, all the sins of a hasty journalistic production; but he desires also to hit the Constitutional party, in as much as Julian Schmidt in the manner of a schoolmaster and with the want of intelligence, rebuked, on the one hand, Romanticism and showed the intolerance of prosaic Protestantism towards Catholicism, and manifested, on the other, a deep antipathy against modern German philosophy, especially Fichte and Hegel, with their radical thoughts. His little-German Protestant, realistic-political soberness had at that time a forbidding effect, when it was made, in such an insufficient way, the critical measure of everything beautiful and profound, which German genius had produced in the past century. It was this mock-intellectual tendency which Lassalle attacked. It is one of the most attractive traits of his character that he manifests his grateful relation to the intellectual heroes of Germany. With a true ring he defends poets like Uhland, Platen and Schiller, against the arrogant pedantry of this intolerable journalism, and no less when he defends the radical Fichte against a too Prussian interpretation, and his Hegel against this

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reflection of this passage is contained in Urban's arraignment of the Liberal bourgeoisie for their shallow feasts (II 332); cp. *Die Feste, die Presse*, etc.; Oncken, I. c. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 385; Brandes, I. c. p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 210.

sorrowful better-knowing of a philosophic dilettante.<sup>1</sup> But while he is utterly blind in respect to the sum of culture and ability and sublime idealism, after all characteristic of that generation, he saw more justly their lack of generative faculty in politics, harmful in the period of the foundation of the New Empire.<sup>2</sup>

Beside the reproach of cultural inferiority, these defects in matters political and social are also voiced in the description of the Liberals from Leo's viewpoint. Here the relation of Might and Right, which occupies such a prominent place in the ideas of the historical Democrat;<sup>3</sup> his accusation that the bourgeois care nothing for political liberty as such,<sup>3</sup> and that the Progressionists are "falsifiers of truth"; his Hegelian identification of thinking and acting, and his claim that the period of the bourgeoisie has gone by, which are yet to occupy our attention, all are mixed with Spielhagen's ethical idealism which Leo attacks in the ideologists of the novel.

While Leo will not reproach the Liberals with being neither poets nor philosophers, he expects them to exhibit deeds in the fields of politics as the time requires politicians, diplomats who would be in these fields what those poets and philosophers were in the purely spiritual spheres (I 392). So Lassalle casts into the teeth of the leaders of the Liberal parties their mediocrity in political and social matters. He finds that there is no possibility of coming to an understanding with stupid (Progressionist) politicians who see in the mere change of the political form something selfsubsisting and exhaustive.<sup>4</sup> To his mind they do not know what the idea of the political means. In the preface to his "System der erworbenen Rechte", he deems it necessary to emphasize for the benefit of the Liberal bourgeoisie that the conception of acquired rights is the source of all further development of society, and that where the Privatrechtliche, the civil law matter, seems to become completely detached from the political, it rather grows still more political, for then it becomes the social element. With passion and animosity he reproaches his Progressionist adversaries with their magnificent ignorance in economic matters, especially when they accuse him of proclaim-

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 80-81; 74-75.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Lothar Bucher of Jan. 1862; Oncken, I. c. p. 202.

ing new and unheard of assertions, e. g. on the iron, cruel law of wages, and on indirect taxes. He shows that what he proclaims are scientific truths which, long accepted in the world of learning, have for three hundred years found a place in textbooks.<sup>1</sup> No doubt, Lassalle in his "Kapital und Arbeit" and economic ideas is in every way superior to the economic Liberalism of the time as especially represented by Schulze-Delitzsch, and can mock rightfully at their ignorance in such matters. The progress of civilization is not due to their realizing their economic ideas. It is the progress of industry and middle class production, division of labor, concentration of capital in their hands because of great discoveries and inventions, the facilitation of trade, the greater security of property which draw the triumphal car of the bourgeoisie.<sup>2</sup> So Leo says that all progress in civilization, the growth of the cities, railroads, telegraphs, and capitalism is not the result of the Liberal ideas but of the time which has taken thought for the bourgeoisie (II 274-5).

Considering this low estimate of the moral and intellectual qualities of the bourgeoisie in which Leo and Lassalle agree, it can not surprise us to find them in revolt against the leadership of the Liberals. Leo believes that all acquisitions of German culture would, in the most shameful way, be sold to the lowest bidder if one should follow Liberal leadership; the German people would be placed below the level of the other civilizations and forced under the yoke of the most despicable materialism. But these bourgeois are not the people. The sense of the Germans is not yet dead. They are waiting for the prophet who shall interpret to them the law which says that the low shall be raised and the mighty lowered (I 393).

As Leo is this prophet, so is Lassalle. To him, too, the fourth estate is the people, not the bourgeoisie.<sup>3</sup> He predicts from the domination of the fourth estate a flourishing period for morals, culture and science such as history never saw. In possession of power the fourth estate would, with free will and strictest logical

<sup>1</sup> Die indirekte Steuer, etc. p. 95; Oncken, I. c. p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Arbeiterprogramm, Oncken, I. c. p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> He understands by this term the upper middle-class citizen who, not satisfied with the actual comforts of riches, makes capital the condition for participation in the control of the State, and has thus subjected the people to his privileged sway since the possession of capital is attended in Prussia by electoral franchise and, therefore, participation in the control of the State. Arbeiterprogramm; Oncken, I. c. p. 218; cp. 360.

consequence, bring about what so far has been gained only piecemeal in the scantest outlines in a struggle with opposition, and from this domination a flight of spirituality, the development of a sum of happiness, culture, welfare and liberty would spring, such as would be without example in the world's history.<sup>1</sup> And on the advancement of the working class on these lines Lassalle has set his mind. In the Song to Learning, "die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter", in which the genuine Lassalle, with his worship of all intellectual knowledge and scientific work, manifests himself,<sup>2</sup> he exclaims that, since he has breathed, he has resolved to devote his life to the alliance of learning and the working people. For only this alliance can engender new life in European conditions.<sup>3</sup>

In comparison with this people the Progressionist bourgeois are, before the impatient mind of Lassalle, only insignificant men, the embodiment of weakness and inability to act in political and economic matters. Lassalle is the man of action. As a disciple of Hegel he devotes himself to pure science in order to influence politics, or seeks to realize in practical politics the postulates of science, as Leo demands the identification of thinking and acting (I 388).<sup>4</sup> Lassalle's originality lies in converting into actions ideas which, for the most part, did not spring from his mind, and his greatness consists in his quality of politician and agitator. He finds, consequently, most fault with the lack of vigor of the Liberals. The Progressionist House which, during the Prussian Conflict, stands inactive on the ground of law, because it does not want to unchain the power of the lowest social strata and does not understand the aims of Bismarck's policies, he attacks for not showing the necessary energy to embarrass the energetic Government<sup>5</sup> and thus prepare the way for liberty.<sup>6</sup> He attempts to urge the Liberal parties to a greater resistance to their resolute antagonist when he sees that they feel perfectly powerless and are unable to do the least thing for the real development of Liberal interests.<sup>6</sup> He blames them for allowing themselves to be frightened by the threats of their opponents, for not changing their tactics in their contests with the reac-

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 221. Cp. above p. 72; below p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 247; 250.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Zur Arbeiterfrage; Oncken, l. c. p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> Die Feste, die Presse, etc.; Oncken, l. c. p. 333.

<sup>6</sup> Offenes Antwortschreiben; Oncken, l. c. p. 257-58.

tionary Government, and carrying out their will defiantly.<sup>1</sup> He reproaches them in his Frankfurt speech of May 19, 1863, with that lack of energy which is afraid of the *ultima ratio regum* of which Münzer speaks, and in the Solingen speech above mentioned, he exclaims:

“Die Fortschrittler liebäugeln mit den Fürsten, um — Herrn von Bismarck bange zu machen! Sie hoffen ihn einzuschüchtern durch Kokettieren mit den deutschen Fürsten. Das sind die Mittel dieser Aermsten! Und wenn wir Flintenschüsse mit Herrn von Bismarck wechselten, so würde die Gerechtigkeit erfordern, noch während der Salven einzugestehn: Er its ein Mann, jene aber sind — alte Weiber.”<sup>2</sup>

When the Progressionists fear this *ultima ratio regum* — the tyranny, exercised by the nobility and other reactionary in DvH, being now that of the Fortschrittler, a parallel may be cited from Münzer’s great plea expressing the same thoughts (733):

“Dass Sie Ihr Haupt noch so frei erheben können, wie Sie es tun, ist wahrlich nicht Ihr Verdienst, es ist das Verdienst des unsterblichen Gesindels,<sup>3</sup> vor dem die Tyrannei mehr Respekt hat, als sie sich merken lässt, von dem sie — . . . so viel niederknallt, als sie irgend vermag, dem sie dann aber auch wieder Konzessionen macht” — it is not the fear of the Government but rather that of the people. They fear the people more than absolutism, and therefore, continue prostrating themselves, whining at the feet of the throne, even if it rains kicks, declaring that they will not give up hope,<sup>4</sup> and humiliate themselves by compromises in order to get a slice of power through their transactions with the Government instead of fighting for the people’s rights with all the might inherent in democracy.<sup>5</sup>

Lassalle, therefore, fights with passion and energy against the Liberal papers and the defects of their contributors.<sup>6</sup> The character of the Liberal press is to his mind a fatal symptom of the decomposition of the party. Their capitalistic interests which they themselves confess to be the reason for the cowardly silence they keep before the press regulations made by the Gov-

<sup>1</sup> Was nun? Cp. above p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch; Oncken, I. c. p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> Macht und Recht; Ansprache an die Arbeiter Berlins; Oncken, I. c. p. 245; 389.

<sup>6</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch; Oncken, I. c. p. 316.

ernment, after the premature adjournment of the Chamber, and the compromises they make instead of taking forceful measures at once, prove their whole weakness and immorality. They try to demonstrate to, and impress on, the people these purely business concessions as so many new viewpoints of the general spirit, representing them as developments and wholesome compromises of the life of the people. In so doing, they poison the national mind through their stupendous ignorance, unscrupulousness, "eunuch-hatred" against everything which is true and great in politics, art and science.<sup>1</sup>

All petty diplomatic intrigues, all half measures and dissimulation are to Lassalle an object of aversion.<sup>2</sup> In the debate held at Frankfurt o/M in May, 1863, which, because of the non-appearance of his Progressionist opponent, Schulze-Delitzsch, became a rather one-sided affair, Lassalle is called to order. He answers in his defense that if he expresses himself without any varnish, he does not become personal but rude, and continues:

"Grob muss, kann und darf ich sein, und das werde ich Ihnen beweisen. Grob muss jeder Vertreter einer grossen Sache sein gegen alle solche, die sich fälschend zwischen ihn und seinen grossen Zweck werfen und ich bin entschlossen, mit geistigen Keulenschlägen jeden zu Boden zu schlagen, der sich zwischen Sie (the working people) und mich fälschend drängt."<sup>3</sup> From the start of his agitation Lassalle had risen against dissimulation. We have seen how this is connected with the underlying idea of his "Franz von Sickingen." Franz exclaims: "Mit der Wahrheit ist kein Unterhandeln." And Balthasar: "Wen täuschest Du? nicht Deine Feinde."

"Drum hülle stets vom Scheitel bis zu Sohle  
Dich kühn in Deines eignen Banners Farbe.  
Dann probst Du aus dem ungeheuren Streit  
Die ganze Triebkraft Deines wahren Bodens  
Und stehst und fällst mit Deinem ganzen Können."

And in 1862, Lassalle reproaches the Progressionists, in his sharp attack on the *Volkzeitung*, with their attempt to change

<sup>1</sup> Die Feste, etc.; Oncken, l. c. p. 334-35; Brandes, l. c. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Was nun?; Oncken, l. c. p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch, p. 15. His pamphlet "Ansprache an die Arbeiter Berlins" of Oct. 1863, contains also a passionate polemic against the radical Berlin newspapers *Volkzeitung* and *Berliner Reform*, read chiefly by the working class, on account of the false reports on his Solingen speech of Sept. 1863, the correction of which these papers refused to print. Cp. Oncken, l. c. p. 387, and below p. 139.

the reactionary attitude of the Government by continually calling it constitutional and thus persuading it to believe itself constitutional. But, says he, all real success in life as well as in history, can be obtained only by doing-the-thing-over-again, never by calling a thing what it is not, i. e. by trying to change it by lies, dissimulation and compromises. Every great political action consists in, and begins with, uttering that which is.<sup>1</sup> The strongest diplomacy is to him that which needs no secrecy for its calculations because it is founded on iron necessity.<sup>2</sup>

This whole list of sins committed, to Lassalle's mind, by the Progressionists, their lack of energy and inability in political and economic matters, their concessions to, and compromises with, the powers that be, is found also with the Liberals with whom Leo enters into war. Leo sees that the Liberals exhibit no such energy against Reaction as they should; their concessions and compromises are the signs of their weak knees and lack of vigor (I 398). In transacting with the prince and his party, they commit the folly of regarding him a Liberal — as Lassalle reproaches the Progressionists with their blind confidence in the New Era, in 1862<sup>3</sup> as the cause of the Prussian Conflict — while he really is a Reactionary of the first order, and has his faithful following in the people of the Reactionary \*Zeitung (I 313). A majority of the Liberal party employ also the diplomatic intrigues of which Lassalle accuses the Progressionists. They are the capitalists among the Liberals. They think it is wise to lean toward the prince since he, in all probability, will ascend the throne ere long, and then will remember that he received favors from them at a time when he suffered from the jealousy of the Cabinet (I 313). And lastly, the reproach which Lassalle voices against his Progressionist opponents at Frankfurt that, falsifying, they step between him and his great aims, offers us the explanation of the predicate "Counterfeiters of truth," which Leo gives to his Liberal adversaries. He concedes there are some members of the party who have the best intentions with the laboring classes, but they are insignificant men who have neither the intellectual power to penetrate to the depth of the labor question — Lassalle contra Schulze-Delitzsch

<sup>1</sup> Was nun? p. 24. Cp. Oncken, l. c. p. 240-41 and above p. 108; and below p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Hochverratsprozeß, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Was nun?; Oncken, l. c. p. 241.

— nor the moral strength to realize the little they have recognized (I 508). But the Liberal party, as a whole, draws the veil over the truth that the people starve, and great reforms are necessary to cure the dreadful evils (I 398). The learned and Pharisees, the wise and the scribes, the rich and mighty, close their eyes and hearts to the misery about them (I 542). The money bags and presumptuous moralists are not willing to deal honestly with the people. They are the parasites which cause the whole body of the State to wither away (II 138), and the most influential members of the Liberal party are the Baal priests and worshippers of the golden calf (I 393), the tormentors of the workmen whose helpless conditions they know enough to draw profit from (I 481; 509). They are the “Wahrheitsfälscher”, the counterfeits of truth, in denying that there exists any misery among the laboring classes, and if this misery can be grasped with hands, then it is to their minds but a temporary condition (I 234).

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No sooner has Leo become convinced that the Liberals will do nothing for all this misery than his endeavors are directed towards doing the work he has in mind without them, and forming his own party. So Lassalle, in the opening of his speech, “Die Feste, die Presse und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag”, declares the slackness of conduct of the Progressionists and their unwillingness to agree to improve the conditions of the working people, to have been the cause for his starting his own movement.<sup>1</sup> While the novelist has very fully illustrated the intellectual and moral qualities of the parties at war, the struggle of Leo does not occupy that space which would be due to a description of Lassalle’s contest with the Progressionists. Of all the points of dispute there appears plainly in IRuG only the contrast of “Staatsintervention,” State subsidy, which Lassalle advocates, and “Selbsthilfe”, self-help, the shibboleth of Liberal economics. But while the political stands rather in the background, all main parallels can, nevertheless, be recognized.

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 333; 337.

Leo makes preparations to come into the possession of that power of which he always has dreamt, and Lassalle saw at the time of the passionate election contest for the Prussian House of Representatives, in April, 1862, that the moment had arrived for him to assume that leadership which had been the dream of his youth, and to realize his ideals of social progress. Under the influence of Marx he had become convinced that the organization of the masses of the fourth estate would lead to a mighty impulsive force of the proletariat.<sup>1</sup> But his thoughts went further, prompted by personal motives. Was there not the greatest likelihood that he who should succeed in putting himself at the head of the masses and in collecting them as troupes, who, in their devotion to their leader, would not fear even death, might win for himself an immense personal power? . . . Would it not be possible to step into the arena as a political reformer at the head of a great party and to enforce his will on the ruling factors?<sup>2</sup> What social questions ever had been in Germany had, since 1848, completely disappeared from the scene. The old democratic party existed no longer. Lassalle had devoted himself more industriously to the study of political economy. Now, in the beginning of the sixties, he saw proposed for the solution of the great social problems, means which, to his mind, were entirely insufficient to remedy the state of distress (or what he tried to demonstrate as such).<sup>3</sup> He felt a deep compassion for the workmen. His social position and his past excluded him for ever from working as a dictator from above for his ideas and the welfare of the people. The masses had been debarred from politics for 12 years. Lassalle saw that the disciplining of the masses could procure him a direct influence on the Government.<sup>4</sup> The scholar contended with the politician. The "Arbeiterführer" who saw already the great party behind him, at the moment when he conceived the idea, clearly carried the day.

The Liberal era had come to an end March 19, 1862, the House had been adjourned, and a conservative Cabinet selected from among higher State officials. The Progressionist party called to arms for the safeguarding of the constitutional rights.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Harms, I. c. p. 29 f.

<sup>3</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch; Oncken, I. c. p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 83 ff.

and the definite realization of a completely constitutional State in Prussia. To decide between Government and Parliament, all forces of the nation, even those of the lowest strata which had been silent for a long time, had to be set in motion. Lassalle delivered, April 12, 1862, about a fortnight before the new elections, in the (Progressionist) trades union of the Oranienburg suburb of Berlin, the so-called machine-maker quarter, that speech which was to become the starting point of the social democratic movement in Germany: "Ueber den besonderen Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes," which later was published as a pamphlet with the headtitle "Arbeiterprogramm". Four days later he spoke "Ueber Verfassungswesen," in a Berlin ward club.

As in today's social democracy, democracy and socialism, originally sprung from different sources, are inseparable constituents of the party, so these two speeches of Lassalle, only in connection with one another, give the right idea of what he was about.<sup>1</sup> But, since in IRuG the political stands in the background, the speech on Constitutional Matters is reflected in the novel only very scantily, while in DvH the constitutional questions, determined by Lassalle as questions of Might in their origin and not those of Right, hold a prominent place. It is, therefore, for our purpose necessary to state only, that Lassalle in this speech shows himself a realistic politician, who, in contrast with the Liberal attitude to the Conflict as a point of law, sees in the reorganization of the army and its political consequences, a question of Might, pure and simple. As a consistent democrat of 1848, he will not stand on the side of the Liberals in their attempt to defend the Constitution. For this Constitution of Dec. 5, 1848, was really an unlawful act, being in contradiction to the actual means of power, retained by the king undiminished, though he had made concessions, it is true. The lower middle class, therefore — Lassalle tries to impress this on them — have no interest whatever in the Prussian conflict as far as the Constitution is concerned. But they must adopt the true democratic program, and so Lassalle sends out to the unorganized masses of society the war-cry to enter with this program into the fight for power.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 214.

More important for us is the Arbeiterprogramm. For here these unorganized masses are to be imbued with the conviction that they form an economically independent group of interests who have nothing in common with the Liberals, and that they represent the power of the future in ethical, spiritual and political respects. The power of the nobility and church, says Lassalle, was broken by the great French revolution of 1789, and the bourgeoisie has taken their place. The bourgeoisie tries to make the State serviceable to its ends, and throws the indirect taxes, which, in reality, make the material existence of the State possible, on the politically outlawed, while the bourgeois pay the direct taxes which cover only a small part of public expenditure. Thus they exercise political domination. But since Feb. 24, 1848, the fourth estate has begun to raise its principle to be the principle of society, and to permeate with this all its institutions. This fourth estate means the whole human race. Its cause, therefore, is the cause of all mankind, its liberty the liberty of mankind, its rule the rule of all. And then Lassalle shows that the rule of the fourth estate will bring about the intellectual, moral and cultural bloom mentioned above. The domination of the fourth estate will also cause a different conception of the ethical idea of State than the "nightwatchman idea" of the bourgeoisie. For the Progressionists, seeing the ethical end of the State exclusively in the protection of the individual and his property, the State is nothing but a watchman whose only function is the prevention of robbery and burglary. The ethical idea of the workmen estate, on the other hand, intent on abolishing privileges, is this, that in a well ordered commonwealth the solidarity of interests, community and mutuality of development must predominate, and a State which is placed under the "idea" of the fourth estate will consequently, with greatest clearness and perfect consciousness, make this ethical nature of State its aim. "Die hohe weltgeschichtliche Ehre dieser Bestimmung (that the working class is called to raise its principle to be the ruling principle of the whole period) muss alle Ihre Gedanken in Anspruch nehmen.<sup>1</sup> Es ziemen Ihnen nicht mehr die Lasten der Unterdrückten, noch die müssigen Zerstreuungen der Gedankenlosen, noch selbst der harmlose

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 76.

Leichtsinn der Unbedeutenden. Sie sind der Fels, auf welchem die Kirche der Gegenwart gebaut werden soll.'"<sup>1</sup> The formal means for obtaining this domination is the general and direct suffrage.

At a moment when the crown was developing its greatest energy to increase its power, and the Liberals were working for having a greater share in the government, then, Lassalle announced the claim of elements whose self-consciousness he must first arouse, and showed them a route in the approaching constitutional conflict which demanded a change of the State from the bottom, and he had made up his mind to be their leader.<sup>2</sup> The political development in the Prussia of 1862, was not based on an opposition between bourgeois and workmen.<sup>3</sup> Lassalle idealized his agitatorial aim, not by spurring the massive covetousness of the proletariat, or beginning over again the old play with republican vellétés, but by pointing out with the aid of great historical periods as a background, the necessity of the new social class with its own high ideals and deeper ethical title in innermost connection with the State of the future.<sup>4</sup> The weight of the Arbeiterprogramm lies in this act of the political head. Lassalle had rightly recognized a great and indisputable tendency of the modern history of European civilized nations, and the event consisted in his communicating this knowledge in concise and pregnant form to the Prussian workmen, in order to awaken in them the spirit of a social class and the consciousness of a political power.<sup>2</sup> But the impression of these two speeches does not seem to have been lasting. In the new elections the Progressionists became the indisputable masters of the House. The State, however, understood their importance, calling Lassalle to account — nothing of his defense at the trial of Jan. 16, 1863, "Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter", with the exception of a few detached thoughts<sup>4</sup> is reflected in IRuG — and the first answer came from the non-Prussian working people. The Leipzig committee, of which mention has been made, turned to Lassalle Feb., 1863.

The new gospel which he proclaims in this Arbeiterprogramm and his Offenes Antwortschreiben presently to be discussed, was,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 230; 229.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 113; 57.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 31.

no doubt, before Spielhagen's mind when he makes Leo voice the need of "Staatssubvention" (= Lassalle's Staatsintervention<sup>1</sup>) in the (Liberal) workmen's union (I 350). Beside the reference to State subsidy there are found various ideas which Leo seems to have taken directly from the Arbeiterprogramm. He says for instance: The future belongs to the workmen, for it is not the class but mankind, who in them and with them contend for an existence worthy of man (I 510). The workmen, too, are to lift up their heads in liberty and be blessed by the enjoyment of art (I 512). But now liberty which grants not only the right but also the possibility of an existence worthy of man, is withheld from the labor class. The capitalists hold back such a right as is the workman's due, and, therefore, Right without truth reigns in the State (I 548).

However, Spielhagen does not follow here the chronological order of history, or keep the Arbeiterprogramm apart from the Offenes Antwortschreiben. Leo founds his own workmen's union in which he proclaims his new gospel before the Tuchheim deputation apply to him, while Lassalle first meets the Leipzig committee, and after having voiced his ideas more fully in his Open Letter than was required by the purpose of his Arbeiterprogramm, brings about the formation of the Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein. But this change in chronology is of no consequence, and the combination of the two works has an inner justification. Leo continues both in his Workmen's Union and with the deputation along the way shown by Lassalle which is to separate him completely from the Liberals and lead him to join the factors of power existing in the State. He directs his new Union to the State (I 454) and the deputation to that power which, by destiny, is ordained to serve the people, for the bourgeois, the party that lives only by exploiting the workmen, can be conquered but by the royal power (I 509).

So far as to appeal to the royal power, in his Open Letter, however, Lassalle did not go. But it signified a balancing of accounts with the Progressionist party. It was an action that affected the whole German nation, by reviving, as with the touch of a wand, and causing to reappear in a new political party, socialism which, Lassalle writes half a year later, the German

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. below p. 136; Oncken, l. c. p. 312; 315.

blockheads à la Schulze-Delitzsch, had been thinking dead for a long time. The *Offenes Antwortschreiben* has become the starting point of the present day German labor movement.<sup>1</sup> The workman, says Lassalle, can expect the realization of his legitimate interests only through political liberty and in complete independence from the Progressionist party whose appendage he has been, and for whom he has formed so far only the "unselfish chorus and sounding board." The working class must constitute themselves as an independent political party and make universal and direct suffrage their rallying-words. The platform must be to care for the legitimate interests of the working people by Representatives of their own in the Chambers. This new party is to join with the Progressionists only in such questions in which a common interest is to be furthered, but it is to oppose them when they act against the interest of the workmen, thus compelling them to a more energetic development and a greater heed of the workmen's needs. In respect to the social questions Lassalle concedes that savings-banks, charitable funds and banks for the invalid and sick, are relatively valuable for such individual workingmen as live or are reduced below the normal standard of the working class, but they are not sufficient to better the standard of the whole class and to raise them above the existing conditions. The Schulze-Delitzsch organizations, his loan and credit, raw products and consumers societies, are all unable to cause a social betterment of the working class as such. Especially the consumers-societies cannot help the working class as such because, when they are extended to the great masses of the workers and consequently cause a general cheapening of the standard of life, the wages fall, since they depend on the cost of those things that are most necessary for living. For the "iron, cruel" economic law that the average wages always remain reduced to the barest amount needed for that subsistence which, in a certain nation, is the standard for the prolongation of existence and propagation, determines the amount of wages under such conditions as exist today under the law of supply and demand. This iron, cruel law can be done away with only by the workingmen becoming their own entrepreneurs by applying the principle of association to manufacture on a

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 257.

large scale. Through the application of this principle the difference that exists between the wages and the entrepreneur's profit will be abolished, and the profit produced by labor will take the place of wages. The working people must, with the aid of the State, be given the power to organize themselves as their own entrepreneurs through voluntary associations in the most peaceful, legal and simple way. The State must consider it its holiest duty to render such self-organization and self-association feasible. For the State is the greatest association of the poorer classes, since 89 to 96 per cent of the population live in oppression. This "Staatsintervention" will be possible but by universal and direct suffrage. If the legislative bodies of Germany spring from such suffrage, then only can the State be made to fulfill this common duty. The universal and direct suffrage is not only the political but also the social principle, the basic condition, for all social help. It is the only means of bettering the material position of the workingman. Lassalle closes with the invitation to organize a General German Workingmen's Union with the purpose of a peaceful and legal agitation for the introduction of this kind of suffrage in all German State. "Das allgemeine Wahlrecht von 89 to 96 pro cent der Bevölkerung als Magenfrage aufgefasst und daher auch mit der Magenwärme durch den ganzen nationalen Körper hin verbreitet — seien Sie ganz unbesorgt, es gibt keine Macht, die sich dem lange widersetzen würde."

In passing it may be said that expressions taken from the domain of medicine, such as Lassalle uses in the passage just cited and in others, presumably have caused Spielhagen to make Leo a physician. Especially the rhetorical figures employed by Leo in his conversation with the king (II 138; cp. also I 296), are significant in this respect.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast with Leo-Lassalle's demand for State-help, the Liberals in IRuG praise self-help as the best and only means for the social uplift of the working classes. At first they do nothing for the proletariat. With the exception of the ideologists who have taken up reformatory thoughts and feel sympathy with the poor and miserable, they bear, to use their characterization by the heroine in *Freigebornen* (293), all the marks of that party

<sup>1</sup> Or an influence of Georg Büchner? Cp. R. M. Meyer, l. c. I, 165.

which has sold itself altogether to capitalism, and dominates legislature in the service of the golden International. They ascribe misery, if it exists at all, to bad government and the misuse of privileges and find it very natural that a proletariat should be found hungry for a time, because of an unfavorable conjuncture (I 234). They had done their best to develop the agricultural into an industrial State. The rising entrepreneur class strive with all their might to lower the cost of production (I 241), and oppose making the most insignificant concessions to the workmen (II 173). That it might be the task of the State to participate in the solution of the problem of how to better the economic condition of the proletariat finds no understanding or approval with them. They fail to appreciate, like the partisans of the Manchester school, that Leo, as Lassalle did, believes in the power of the State, not only as the protector, but as the promoter of justice and culture. The State to which Leo directs the workmen is in the eyes of the Liberals some despotism whether it be called comité de salut public, directorate, dictator, or emperor (I 454). Nobody can permanently raise the scale of wages, for they depend on the international market (II 176). To their minds it is only self-help that, on the ground of full individual economic liberty, brings lasting improvement: "Gründet Genossenschaften und seid Mehrer Eurer allgemeinen und fachlichen Bildung" (II 174). This is also the means which the new democratic newspaper, in contrast with Leo-Lassalle's policies, characterizes as the best and only way which can lead to the social uplift of the working classes. A practical demonstration is given by an association of tailors for co-operative manufacturing on a large scale (II 322) which, as they say, succeeds in spite of all tricks employed by their opponents (II 393). We have here again an exposition of Schulze-Delitzsch's work to keep alive by co-operative societies the small artisan without capital. But the preservation of this class does not touch the labor question proper which, Lassalle finds, concerns chiefly the industrial workmen because he sees that the victory of the large manufacturer over the artisan is completed.<sup>1</sup> Other Liberals, it is true, concede that even if an industrious workman with his family can, under ordinary circumstances,

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 382-83; cp. above p. 53.

get along, the establishment of associations for the support of widows, the sick, and other purposes is imperative in case of unexpected and extraordinary needs (II 182; cp. I 184).

The social-political opposition of the Liberals to the means proposed by Leo leads to a newspaper war (II 1). This plainly reflects the feud, prepared by Lassalle's pamphlet "Macht und Recht," with its declaration of war on the Progressionist party,<sup>1</sup> which broke out between them after he had sent his Open Letter. A summary of this he gives with his defense against the Progressionist attacks in his Leipzig speech of April 13, 1863.<sup>2</sup> Not only do the formidable accusations which Lassalle hurls at the bourgeoisie find an echo in the judgment of the Liberals on Leo's want of a just estimate of the practical conditions, on his experimenting with socialistic systems, the common dangers of which to their minds have frequently been proved (I 350), but their hostile newspaper articles and personal attacks (I 539; 544; II 3-4) are apparently modelled on the attitude of the Progressionists towards Lassalle. The Liberal papers condemn Leo's undertaking as bearing the stamp of its author. He has flaunted too often his diploma in their faces to be surprised if they examine the same a little more carefully and ask who he was and who he is now (II 323). And Leo, after using soft strokes of the lash, will answer now with a scourge of scorpions for their attacks on him as the protector of the workmen (II 324). So the fury of the Progressionists against Lassalle was without bounds. They replied, most unanimously and sharply in Berlin where Schulze-Delitzsch held the sway, that Lassalle knew nothing of economics.<sup>3</sup> They strove to strike him down with malicious aspersions, e. g. that he was an instrument hired by Reaction,<sup>4</sup> a renegade,<sup>5</sup> and the spiteful utterances of their press on the unheard of procedure of Lassalle elicited answers from him which were in many cases nothing but insulting lampoons.<sup>6</sup> The last speech held by Leo in his union, and the tumult that breaks up the meeting also causes the Liberal press to voice its hostility in a way that reminds us of a case in Las-

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 129 and *Freigebornen*, 286-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Zur Arbeiterfrage*: Oncken, I. c. p. 290-94.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 286-86.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> *Zur Arbeiterfrage*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Brandes, I. c. p. 116.

salle's life. When the meeting at Solingen in 1863 — which also with its accompanying circumstances seems to have been the model for Leo's last gathering of his friends in the capital (I 545)<sup>1</sup>—in which he was to speak, was dissolved by the police by order of the Progressionist mayor, thousands of workmen accompanied Lassalle to the railroad station where he telegraphed the occurrence to Bismarck. The Liberal press of the Rhinelands represented this affair as if the Gensdarmarie had been obliged to protect Lassalle by means of the bayonet against the people, who, hurling imprecations, rushed at him.<sup>2</sup> Likewise Leo's arrest and the tumult broken out at the meeting of his union are characterized in the Liberal press as a perfectly natural reaction of the respectable workmen against the inflammatory agitation of the party of Leo, who alone was responsible for the necessary interference by the police, since the whole agitation had sprung from sordid motives (II 44).<sup>3</sup>

This speech, by the way, contains some thoughts of Lassalle other than those which remind of the Arbeiterprogramm.<sup>4</sup> Leo will take proofs from science, from the teaching of that which is (I 548). This is the logical and real basis of Lassalle's whole agitation, the unveiling, the destruction of Pretence, as the idealistic types in DvH fight against Pretence, for the keeping up of which, in the novel, all possible misdeeds are committed. The mightiest political means is to Lassalle's mind, the voicing of that which is. Napoleon I did so before, and Bismarck after him.<sup>5</sup> Lassalle employs it especially in the last advice he gives the Progressionists, in his speech "Was nun?" of 1862.<sup>6</sup> To brand before all the world Prussian Constitutionalism as a pretence and to refuse any transaction with the Government, i. e. to voice that which is, is the sole means which can make the Government yield and become genuinely constitutional. It does not matter that in this respect he is only the political tactician aiming to discredit the Liberals with their electors by showing a way which they should, but do not dare, to take, for he did not care for a capitulation of the Government to the Progression-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the young workman with whom Lassalle was on terms of greater intimacy, mentioned above p. 70, and the behavior of the police.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 127, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. above p. 128.

ists because such a compromise could not advance his plans to create a radical socialistic workmen's party.<sup>1</sup> It must be stated, however, that Lassalle's political maxim is followed by Leo during his whole activity.

Lassalle's Open Letter must needs elicit the attacks of the Progressionists. Their politicians and economists saw at once what was at stake. They wanted to keep the leadership of the workmen in their hands. In their contest with the Government they had played off the "People" in its compact mass with common interests and ideals.<sup>2</sup> Through the assertion of Lassalle that their party had been found completely wanting in the labor question, their position was perceptibly weakened. In writing his Open Letter Lassalle showed practically only that he had left the range of Marx's ideas, which had so effectively fructified his, and in recommending co-operative productive societies with State-help, could not but try to realize them with the aid of the State as it was — as in 1859, solely by judging from the viewpoint of the German revolution he was led to advocate a Prussian policy of conquest.<sup>3</sup> If in writing this letter he had not thought directly of the royal power the Progressionists, through their attacks and violent hostility, now compelled him to do so.<sup>4</sup> The Democrat and the Government met as though for the same cause in a contest with a common opponent. The bitter war which all organs of the bourgeoisie waged against Lassalle, induced the Reactionary to take the part of an agitation, which, in its origin, was purely democratic.

## 6

Lassalle's Open Letter to the Leipzig committee resulted in the founding of the General German Workingmen's Union, May 23, 1863. "The Jew from Breslau became the captain on the bridge, and at the top of the ship waved the social democratic flag." The Constitution of the Union, however, was by no means democratic; it was organized as essentially monarchical, an instrument in the hand of the dictator, Lassalle. In his

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 243-44; 241-42.

<sup>2</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 322.

practical agitation he had become aware of the necessity of making this dictatorship a principle within the Union, in view of the vigorous endeavors of Marx to prevent the young labor movement from being dominated by his disciple. It was now necessary for Lassalle to measure coolly the existing factors of power in the State, as Leo does (I 341), and to bring his own forces into a right relation to them.<sup>1</sup> He could no longer maintain a simple oppositional attitude in his present responsible position if he wanted to realize the dreams of his youth, expressed in his diary. The half-utopian theories of socialism yielded to the impulse to act. The program of his Open Letter shows him as the democratic politician striving for the possession of power. The acquisition of political liberty for the workmen who, after 1848, through reactionary legislation had become practically disfranchised, meant democracy. The democratic politician turned to the political leaders of the State or sought to enter into connection with influential men. Leo does the same, and the Liberals have ground to reproach him who worships the "idea", with cultivating this or that person whose aid may be needed in realizing his ideals (II 170; 275). H. Mielke,<sup>2</sup> therefore, should not have criticized the novelist for having represented Leo's rise to power as too dependent on the influence or help of others. Spielhagen shows here again his thorough information concerning Lassalle. Lassalle, disappointed by the progress of his labor agitation, must needs turn to the man who alone could make possible for him the position for which he and Leo, too, were striving. And this position was at that time wholly dependent on Bismarck, the embodiment of the idea of the Frederician State.

But before Lassalle showed openly that he expected help from the Premier, both had been tactical allies for quite a while. The great statesman, since taking the helm of the State in Sept., 1862, had made unparliamentary excursions on Right and Might, the power of the crown and parliament, on blood and iron, which very much agreed with the sentiments of Lassalle in his "Sikkingen".<sup>3</sup> When the king adjourned the House, Oct. 13, 1862, the contest for Right which was really a contest for Might,

<sup>1</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> Mielke, l. c. p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 263; 130; cf. above p. 80.

had begun. Bismarck made the conflict acute, for it furthered his aim to remain at the helm and bring, in the meanwhile, the policy of conquest of the great independent power of Prussia to a successful end. He frustrated all possible compromises to keep the moderate Liberals away from leadership. Lassalle, on the other hand, had fostered the conflict to bring about a revolution in order to secure victory for the democracy of 1848. Both use the same arguments in spite of their diametrically opposed aims; against the Liberals, armed with the paragraphs of the Constitution, they appeal to Might: Bismarck to the crown and army, Lassalle to the masses of the fourth estate.<sup>1</sup> The latter, in his speech "Was nun?" had already given Bismarck the credit of being an expert in Constitutional matters,<sup>2</sup> as he, too, he said, knew that the Constitution of a country consists in the actual conditions of power. Soon he was to learn that in the new Premier, who was leading foreign affairs realistically and with fixity of purpose, a stronger will manifested itself and drew every effort of others in its own current. Lassalle experienced the power of the magnet on himself ere long. Bismarck became the fate of his further development.<sup>3</sup> The two strongest vital powers of Prussian-German politics of the century had met.

Lassalle had started as a radical democrat to urge the Progressionist party to the most vigorous action against the Government, as Leo had done, but he had found so much hostility with them that the opponents he encountered on his way made him lose sight of the common enemy, nor disdain the alliance of the Government in order to first annihilate the Progressionists. The reproach, however, which the latter addressed to him that the last period of his life was only Cæsarism covered with the sugar of socialism, as Leo's standing on the side of the State may appear to his Liberal opponents (I 454), is unfounded. He kept his own political and social aims always in mind, and preserved, in spite of Bismarck, his personal independence and liberty of resolution, just as Leo at the time when he tries to form a Cabinet plans a revolution and a fight to the knife, if he king does not do his bidding (II 506). Yet there is no denying

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 329, cp. above p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 327.

the fact, that Lassalle, for the sake of his socialistic democratic aims, had deviated far from his starting point; the heat of the contest and the impression of Bismarck contributed their share, above all his overwise calculation, the dialectical trait in his tactics urged him on. His whole political development had of necessity to take a different turn. For himself the Democrat demanded the "dictatorship of intelligence", the unconditional domination over the workmen in order to press on the Prussian Government; at the same time, however, he expected only from its decisions the impulse to gather about his flag the masses who so far had failed to appear. The revolutionist, like Leo, had set his calculations on the revolution through the Government (II 136; 487), and on events which were really to take place in 1866. Like Sikkingen in his drama, he believed himself to be able to attain revolutionary aims through diplomatic means. They had become his only means. In the face of these tactics all social aims had for the moment receded.<sup>1</sup>

The more the democratic politician set his hopes on the daring leadership of the Prussian State, the more he became dependent on it as soon as Bismarck, since the opening of the Schleswig-Holstein Question, brought matters to a move.<sup>1</sup> When a general convention of the Representatives of the lower Houses in Frankfurt o/M, entered into a severe judgment of Bismarck's political attitude towards Austria, Lassalle wrote, treating this, his "Die Feste, die Presse und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag"<sup>2</sup> which has been characterized as a pitiless censure of the Progressionists and a declaration of love addressed to Bismarck.<sup>3</sup> When he delivered this speech at Solingen, Sept. 27, 1863, the meeting was closed by the police, and Lassalle sent the telegram to Bismarck, of which mention has been made.<sup>4</sup> As a politician of quick decision he made use of this police interference to execute a plan long considered. The passage in which he says that he, with difficulty, restrained the people, 5000 strong, from violent acts against the police proves that he wanted to show the Premier the movement of the masses as a counter-weight to the Progressionists' opposition in order to force the

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 412-13.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. p. 139.

Government to give attention to his ideas. It had become public that Bismarck had handed in to the king a report signed by the whole Cabinet in favor of a true national representation resulting from a direct participation of the whole people, Sept. 15, 1863. Lassalle saw that the Government would turn to his aims. He sent the telegram on Sept. 27, in order to bring about at once the approachment of the two antipodes who, for some time now, had been allies because of attacks by the same adversary, and the strife for power, and were now meeting because of an identical point of political program.<sup>1</sup> He could hope that Bismarck would take into his hands the furtherance of the political and social aims of the young labor movement, and thereby deal the death blow to the Liberal parties. Bismarck declared in the Reichstag, Sept. 1878, that he put no difficulties in Lassalle's way when the latter had an urgent desire to come into relations with him. For, although he had, no doubt, relatively little interest in negotiating with an agitator who had as yet no palpable power at his disposal, Lassalle had done things which found favor with the Government, and there was something in him which attracted Bismarck and his party.

The social agitation which Lassalle had in mind as a supplement of his political, was by no means unfavorably regarded by the Conservatives and the Premier of the king of Prussia. The provision for the workmen had excited the interest of many Conservatives. Some had already entered into correspondence with Lassalle. Furthermore, Bismarck, although he directly knew little of Hegel,<sup>2</sup> and Lassalle had practically the same conception of State. In Bismarck the conception of the Frederician State was operative as a practical, original force, nor did the tendencies of men like Schulze-Delitzsch, who would have preferred to dissolve the political-social life into spheres of free unions, naturally find sympathy with him.<sup>3</sup> With Lassalle the Hegelian conception of State remained always one of his strong ethical thoughts,<sup>4</sup> which never suffered by the competition of opposed ideas, and the emphasis he lays on this idea of State in his Programm of 1862, elicited as early as that the question

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Freigebohren, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Lassalle's praise of the idea of State in his "Die indirekte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen," Oncken, l. c. p. 370, cp. above p. 73.

whether he would not experiment with the concrete Prussian State in the solution of such problems, as, to his mind, were the purpose of the State. His speeches on Constitutional Matters and "Was nun?" of 1862, too, had found a certain measure of applause with the Conservatives, and his attacks on the Liberals because of their attitude towards the German Question, on the economical authorities of the Progressionist party, on manufacturers like Reichenheim, who also were Bismarck's opponents, were of a character to be welcomed by the Government.

To some extent Lassalle's new workmen movement, therefore, must appear to an unscrupulous minister as a desirable alliance. At the end of Oct., 1863, Lassalle's personal intercourse with Bismarck began and continued for several months, but even after the estrangement caused through his own fault, Lassalle sent the Chancellor his speeches to his last days.<sup>1</sup> In contrast with Leo, Lassalle's discussions with the representative of the crown bore on universal and direct suffrage and co-operative societies with State-help. Principally, however, the intention of the Democrat was to influence the Government by the whole weight of his eloquence to force universal suffrage upon the people. While the Progressionists believed that the existing electoral franchise needed no extension — even strict democrats and workmen like Bebel were opposed to universal suffrage — Bismarck saw in it a weapon against the opposition wherein he was supported by the Kreuzzeitungs-party.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the Conservative party contained daily growing groups who saw in such a suffrage the only way out of the existing political misery.<sup>3</sup> There was, of course, a difference in the aims of these parties when they thought of this suffrage. Bismarck was thinking of it as a means for German unification against the particularism of dynasties and tribes, and only in a secondary place was it to serve him to put the loyal masses into the balance against the oppositional imperious bourgeoisie. But Lassalle wanted to emancipate by it and under his leadership the workmen politically and socially from the Liberals, in order to bring about a democracy rooted in the working classes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 331; 341; 351.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 66; 70; 78.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 346.

Yet his interviews with the Premier had a decisive influence on his whole agitation. The kind of alliance with the Conservatives which had the attainment of the main point of his program for its end was drawing him more and more to the side of the leading Conservative forces of the State. It was a matter of course that, as long as he expected the Government to act in accordance with his aims to have universal suffrage established, he should avoid in the political course of his Arbeiterverein any opposition to the Government. He supports Bismarck in his foreign policies, puts no obstacle in his way in the Polish Question where his decided democratic feeling ought to have spoken in the interest of Polish nationality, and opposes in agreement with his former convictions<sup>1</sup> the Liberals who champion the claim of the Prince of Augustenburg in the Schleswig-Holstein conflict, while he, in his desire to have Germany united, speaks for the annexation of the two provinces. During the last months of his life he continues, not from free will, but because of the slow progress of his agitation, his tactics which practically identify him with the Prussian Government. He hopes for a war with Austria and the resulting proclamation of universal suffrage as the necessary and fortunate turn for his agitation. His "Hochverratsprozess" of March 12, 1864, however strongly the speech is intended to influence the judges, shows the Democrat to be on the side of the Prussian monarchy. There is much which speaks for the possibility that Lassalle, if he had lived to see the events of 1866 and 1870-71, would have intimately joined Bismarck in politics as did his friend, Lothar Bucher, who, as a member of the Berlin National Assembly of 1848, had agitated for the refusal to pay taxes. Brandes (p. 172) and Harms (p. 72) believe so, and Spielhagen in Freigeboren (p. 298) agrees with them.<sup>2</sup>

Though, perhaps, Lassalle did not know that by his agitation for universal suffrage he smoothed the way for a social empire he pleaded in his speech of March, 1864, for a social (Prussian) monarchy. This form of State had at the time of the Prussian Conflict, shown its undiminished power and strength, and he had learned thereby that monarchy in Germany was to be counted

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 83; 74.

on for a long time to come. It was not impossible for him to come to terms with it, and even take up the cudgel for it, as the promoter of the emancipation of the fourth estate. In the middle of Feb., 1864, he sent Bismarck two copies of his "Herr Bastiat-Schulze, etc.," with a note in which he said it would be very useful for the king to read some parts of it, that he might see which monarchy had still a future and who were its friends and who its enemies (reflected, as we shall presently see in Leo's interview with the king). That Lassalle thought of the possibility of fighting in the interest of the monarchy is proved by an utterance from the last year of his life: "Das aber, Freunde, verspricht mir, wenn es zu einem Kampfe kommen sollte zwischen dem Königtum von Gottes Gnaden auf der einen und dieser elenden Bourgeoisie auf der anderen Seite, schwört mir, dass Ihr auf seiten des Königtums stehen werdet gegen die Bourgeoisie."<sup>1</sup>

It has been shown above that Leo in his endeavor to secure power as the means for the attainment of his aims, develops into the champion of monarchy. He arrives at it by a way which, in spite of the epic dress, is the same that led Lassalle.

That speech of March, 1864, the "Hochverratsprozess", in which the latter confesses that the monarchy of the Hohenzollern represents still an actual force of life, as Leo believes (II 137), and pleads for a social Prussian monarchy, is the basis on which Leo's interview with the king is built (II 136-37). There are three parties in the State; the Government with the Conservative parties, the Liberal bourgeoisie or Progressionists, and the real democratic party which Lassalle says he has the honor to lead. The Government party has drawn nearer to him because, in the contest with the Liberals and with threatening foreign complications, it has to look about for the people.

"Ein nicht beizulegender, ein tödtlicher Kampf, exclaims Lassalle, hat sich erhoben zwischen dem Königtum und der Bourgeoisie: Wer von beiden weicht, ist verloren . . . In diesem Kampfe ohne Ausweg hat meine Stimme den einzig möglichen Ausweg eröffnet, der überhaupt denkbar war, . . . das Volk selbst auf die Bühne zu führen und sein Recht herzustellen", and Leo tries, with the aid of Lassallean terms — as Might and

<sup>1</sup> Harms, I. c. p. 99; 75.

Right are identical in Natural Science, so are they in the State which is only a piece of Nature (II 131) — to convince the king that majesty must lean on the workmen, if the Right, i. e. Might which still dwells with majesty is not to change into wrong, i. e. impotency. An intelligent king can bring about an amalgamation of the principle of annointed monarchy with the unannointed multitude by making the basis sufficiently broad (II 132). “Das Königtum, says Lassalle, wenn es einer Clique nicht weichen kann, (can) dagegen wohl das Volk auf die Bühne rufen und sich auf es stützen . . . Es braucht sich hierzu nur bewusst zu werden, welches die Säule ist, auf der es steht. Das Volk, nicht die Bourgeoisie, zahlt seine Steuern! Das Volk, nicht die Bourgeoisie, schlägt seine Schlachten! Es braucht sich hierzu endlich nur seines Ursprunges zu erinnern, denn alles Königtum ist ursprünglich Volkskönigtum gewesen”. Leo will, if he can, make the king a peasant or workmen’s king in whom the miserable have the confidence that he will rescue them from their misery. The bourgeoisie on whom Louis-Philippe intended to rely, have neither this belief or any moral emotion, nor any great thought. They have paid for their wealth, their comfort with their moral and intellectual bankruptcy. But the poor and miserable, this fallow land full of immeasurable strength because of being fertilized by the sweat and blood of centuries, have still the belief in a power which, surpassing that of individuals, supports and holds the whole, and in a wisdom which always has in mind and realizes the common welfare (II 134). There is still piety and faith such as the king demands of his subjects. For otherwise the deputation would not have left, perhaps, for the first time in their lives, their native valley to make a pilgrimage to their king, who they are convinced will rescue them from their misery. Lassalle, on the other hand, had exclaimed: “. . . ein louis-philippistisches Königtum von der Schöpfung der Bourgeoisie, könnte dies freilich nicht (to lead the people on the scene and re-establish their rights). Aber ein Königtum, das noch aus seinem ursprünglichen Teig geknetet dasteht, auf den Knauf seines Schwertes gestützt, könnte das vollkommen wohl, wenn es entschlossen ist, wahrhaft grosse, nationale und volksgemässe Ziele zu verfolgen.”

These great national and popular aims are with Leo, as with Lassalle, the emancipation of the fourth estate with the aid of the monarchy. For a monarchy can, unconcerned by economic interests, grant the social demands of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie never; and in Lassallean sense it is without doubt that the working class in their fight for emancipation can more easily win the kings than the bourgeois.

Leo sets about to win the king by such arguments as follow. The ruler believes that constitutional government cannot satisfy the deep and pressing needs of the people but that concessions must be made to the money-proud shopkeepers, and constitutional government is demanded by the evil spirit of the times which does not believe in a natural order of social classes. Leo tries to convince him that the power of capital takes from the modern slave all possibility of exercising clublaw, because the power of money stands under the protection of the law which assures the manufacturers the safe possession of their robbery and allows them compound interest on the capital created by the sweat and blood of poverty, and that, therefore, the right (or the might as Leo expresses himself with Lassallean terms) of the purse-proud shopkeepers can be broken only by the natural protector of the poor and wretched (II 135-37). Lassalle had learned that a republic nowise guaranteed the State, he had in mind, and his experiences with the Progressionists must have shown him what the people had to expect if the bourgeois republic was realized; it must have seemed to him more desirable that a power should stand at the head of the State which, in its independence, might give attention to the interest of the whole people, the clearer it became to him that the modern industrial-capitalistic development must lead to a money aristocracy. So also Leo says that only the royal power as the summary and the personification of the totality can balance the individual classes of the nation so that none can live at the expense of, or draw a pitiless profit from, the other (II 137).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 78; Harms, l. c. p. 9.

Under the romantic language (II 164) with which Leo attempts to win the king for his plans we have found thoughts which spring from Lassalle, as his position by the side of the king is the romantic representation of the historical democrat leaning towards monarchy. But Spielhagen says nothing of the State or the royal power being asked or expected to grant the means which Lassalle declares the only sufficient one to guarantee the social betterment of the working class and proletariat. Lassalle had exclaimed: "Of two things one has to be selected, either pure absolutism or universal suffrage. An absolutist monarch can do everything for the people. But in a constitutional State the power rests with the well-to-do classes, i. e., in the hands of the minority, which is an injustice."<sup>1</sup> Since the beginning of his agitation the establishment of universal suffrage was his goal. In April, 1863, he wrote, "Without universal suffrage, i. e., a practical instrument to realize our demands we can be a philosophic school or religious sect, but never a political party. Therefore, it seems to me that universal suffrage belongs to our social aims as necessarily as the handle to the axe."<sup>2</sup> Just the speech on which, as we have seen, Leo's interview with the king is to a large measure based, has to do with Lassalle's demand for, and prophesy of, universal suffrage,<sup>3</sup> and even in subordinate steps he thinks always in the first place of its establishment.<sup>4</sup>

In comparison with it the recommendation of co-operative societies for the purpose of manufacture with the financial aid of the State holds a rather secondary position. He has never pretended to be able to solve the social problems, or contended that such societies could answer the social questions;<sup>5</sup> he says not one word of it in his Open Letter. He is far from seeing his last aims in such societies. He was a consistent socialist in so far as he considered the association of all means of production the goal for which his party should strive, but he thought of the co-operative societies as a means which could be realized within the existing

<sup>1</sup> Die indirekte Steuer, etc.; Oncken, l. c. p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 303; Cp. Ansprache an die Arbeiter Berlins, Oct., 1863.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 402; cp. above p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 403; cp. p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 89; Brandes, l. c. p. 145.

political and social order as the first step on the road on which, in his firm belief, the future would and must proceed.<sup>1</sup>

Evidently Spielhagen did not introduce universal suffrage into the novel because he stood on the side of the Progressionists who, as has been pointed out<sup>2</sup>, were opposed to it. And from this Progressionist standpoint, as a champion of self-help, he makes Leo try a socialistic experiment, because of Lassalle's proposition of co-operative societies, in order to give a warning example of an enterprise opposed to the principles of the Manchester school.

His description of the failure of such an experiment, however, is apparently based on an experiment — of Bismarck. We have spoken of the deputation of weavers who had an audience with King William and for this reason lost their work in the mills owned by Reichenheim.<sup>3</sup> Bismarck, who still in 1878 held the productive co-operative societies of Lassalle and his 100 million thaler project as a matter worthy of discussion, of course, in a monarchical sense<sup>4</sup>, caused the king to give, out of his private purse, to these weavers a sum of 6000 — 7000 thalers<sup>5</sup> for an experimental foundation of a co-operative association. A trial on such a small scale was bound to result in a failure, the more so as Bismarck's whole attention was held by the events of foreign policy since 1864, and the legislative measures which the deputation were promised by the king were not taken.<sup>6</sup>

As this experiment, so Leo's does not follow the safe-guards Lassalle proposed in his Frankfurt speech of May 17, 1863. The latter had asked for State-help in order to thereby give the workmen the chance to help themselves earnestly through a vigorous initiative of their own. State-help is not opposed to self-help, but rather gives the possibility of self-help, as he says in his address to the workmen of Berlin.<sup>7</sup> He was thinking of co-operative societies which were all to be enclosed by a credit association, and of an insurance society which was to embrace all societies of the same trade and thus make any eventual loss almost imperceptible; not to speak of other advantages as the decrease of the risk of capital, exclusion of competition, prevention of overproduction, saving of expenses and increase of production.

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 146; 144; Oncken, l. c. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 103; 105.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 104; 106.

<sup>5</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. IRuG II 515.

<sup>7</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 351; 405.

<sup>8</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 144; Oncken, l. c. p. 390.

There are no parallels in Leo's enterprise to all these measures and necessary precautions which Lassalle had in mind to establish without risk and with a measure of certain success his co-operative societies; it does not matter here whether or not his calculations were right. Leo's socialistic experiment is an evidently intended, but, in its execution, rather vague demonstration of, and a plea for, the effectiveness of the Progressionist associations founded on self-help. In these the workmen did not take the initiative, in contrast with those proposed by Lassalle, and also with the English workmen's unions which the Progressionists thought they were imitating. Their position was, rather, regulated by the Progressionist leaders because they wanted no State-help granted by the Government that might strengthen the conservative party, nor any State-help obtained through struggle or defiance by the workmen, as they detested the democratic self-reliance which was needed for obtaining such help.<sup>1</sup> Leo's enterprise is not in agreement with the social theories of the Liberals, so it must fail. There is no authority, no business ability, but distrust by all of all (II 390; 501-02). It was an evil thought to leave to themselves people who are incapable of self-government (II 568). It fails because the workmen in Leo's mills act counter to the "Heilige Ordnung" (II 317-18; 620). While thus his experiment would have found no approval with Lassalle, Spielhagen has, no doubt, introduced it into the novel on account of the economic plans of the socialistic democrat.

More in accord with history has the novelist treated the attitude of the great democrat in respect to the question of how Prussia should act during the war of Austria with Italy and France in 1859.

Reference was made to this war to throw light on the position of Münzer and Lassalle towards the ideas of liberty and German unity.<sup>2</sup> Lassalle had written his pamphlet on the Italian war as a kind of patriotic democrat who raised his voice against Prussia's giving up neutrality, because in the first place, true democracy could not without treachery trample upon the principle of free nationalities by favoring a war with Napoleon. The latter was fighting in Italy for a nation's liberty, if only for the purpose of strengthening his tyranny at home, while Austria,

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Lange, l. c. p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 74.

which they wished to defend because of its being German land, implied a firm and consistent reactionary principle. And in the second place, the defeat of Austria must needs lead to German unity.

While none of these reasons which Lassalle opposed vigorously to the general passionate cry of Conservatives and Liberals alike, to mobilize and take actively the side of the kindred people, can be found in IRuG, the novelist nevertheless here again shows his thorough information on the socialistic democrat and his plans. For he has rightly read between Lassalle's lines. As the latter shows every proposition of his to be the consequence of democratic ideas, he works for an empire established by the Prussian sword on a democratic basis. His correspondence with Marx makes his purpose clearer. He is opposed to a war with France because a Prussian victory would be a counter-revolutionary event par excellence. He will depopularize such a war which would have re-enforced the bonds between monarchy and people, by showing to the Prussian Government a highly national and popular way which he was sure it would not take, and will lead the instinct of the masses in his own paths.<sup>1</sup> His pamphlet is only a link in the democratic chain of revolutionary thoughts which he, even after the Italian war, continues by putting on other foreign events his hopes for the realization of a social change in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

These "unterirdische Argumente," or concealed arguments, apparently furnish the basis for Leo's attitude to the war which has broken out in the south. It has for him importance only in so far as it may promote his own ends. If the country should become involved in the war the subsequent general misery will help his social efforts for the proletariat (II 380). He is a physician for the sick. Up to now the stupidity of the patient has been an obstacle because he is unwilling to believe in his sickness, as Lassalle on May 17, 1863, exclaims: "Ihr deutschen Arbeiter seid merkwürdige Leute! Euch . . . muss man vorher erst noch beweisen, dass Ihr in einer traurigen Lage seid. Das kommt aber von Eurer verdammten Bedürfnislosigkeit."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in pointing out in opposition to the wild cry of the princely party

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 155; 142.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Arbeiterlesebuch; Oncken, I. c. p. 311-312.

the political and economic impossibility of carrying on a war — at least if they intend to mobilize with the ordinary means (II 465) — Leo is not led by such patriotic reasons as Lassalle's, but by the desire to widen the breach between the crown and the bellicose party of the prince, in order to compel the king to accede to his social plans. He endeavors to convince him that a war, whether successful or not, will be fatal. For, in the first case, the king will have to fear the prince, who would find his position beside the throne too humble (II 484); in the second, the people who would hold the king responsible for any ill-success (II 485). But peace and freedom from care will be the lot of the king if he makes peace with his own people by abolishing slavery, i. e., by destroying the proletariat in the free State of the future, which by the king's command will be at once changed into the present. Only thus can he avoid seeing his ally make peace with his opponents and try to take from Germany what he must give up in another place. Leo's advice is the only way to prevent any participation in the war and to give the nation which stands up for its greatest and holiest ideals the firm belief that under such conditions it has not to fear a war with a world in arms (II 487).

The novelist thus puts Leo's efforts for the social betterment of the proletariat rightly in relation with the Italian war, in which the desultory reader of Lassalle's pamphlet may see the only occasion this democrat took to voice publicly his opinion on a matter of essentially foreign policy as G. Brandes does.<sup>1</sup>

## 8.

The (Italian) war takes place about nine years after Leo's flight during the revolution, and his political activity comes to an end when the news of peace has just arrived at the capital (II 599). Spielhagen consequently puts those democratic thoughts which he has gathered from Lassalle's pamphlet near the end of Leo's career, while historically they mark the beginning of Lassalle's turning to become a realistic politician free from his former dreams of revolutionary republicanism. Chronological, on the other hand, is Leo's appeal to the church for support during the time immediately preceding his fall and death.

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<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 81.

So Lassalle, the socialistic democrat, who started with the intent to drive the Progressionists into the most energetic fight with the Government, and then was pleased from tactical reasons with the semi-connivance of the Conservatives, leaned himself, during the last three months of his life, on the untrustworthy support of a Catholic bishop.<sup>1</sup>

But here the novelist has given the church a far greater importance than it had with Lassalle, and as a result a more detailed description of Leo's negotiations with its representative, which are not borne out by the history of his model. We have seen<sup>2</sup> that Lassalle drew the Conservative organs to his side when he incurred the bitter and reckless hostility of the Progressionists in his fight for universal suffrage. The good terms on which he apparently stood with the Conservatives, gave cause for the assertions of his opponents that he now stood in the service of Reaction; they did everything to separate him from his adherers among the working classes. Besides being the war-object of the Progressionists, he was also the eternal prize of the State's attorneys,<sup>3</sup> even at a time when he had his interviews with Bismarck. At war with numerous adversaries, and an unscrupulous politician who would make use of anything which might appear as a success of his agitation to show the Premier that he was an ally with power behind him to impose universal suffrage, prudence advised him to grasp the hand held out, and not to refuse the strong support of the Catholic church. He found here the same desire to strengthen the political power of the lower classes.

Whatever may be thought of the consequences of universal suffrage, which logically must lead to leaving the last decision in political matters in the hands of the greatest number of the uneducated, especially in districts where the Catholic clergy rule, it was quite natural that Lassalle, in his exasperate contest, took his allies from whatever source he could. Leo does the same (II 327). It may be open to question whether Spielhagen was thinking of Lassalle's relation to Helene von Dönniges, which was to be his death, when he made Leo follow the advice of his friends to take such a wife as might put the cloak of her old nobility about his low descent. At least the political selfishness of Leo in

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 408; 418.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Harms, l. c. p. 76; Brandes, l. c. p. 156.

entering into such a project differs from the lack of diplomacy and from the passion which Lassalle showed by allowing himself to be carried away in his love affair. But it is evident that Lassalle's acceptance of an alliance with the Catholic church, if it can be called such, in the last stage of irritation over the opposition which he finds and the ill success of his efforts to prevail on Bismarck in respect to the introduction of the universal and direct suffrage, induced Spielhagen to make Leo seek the help of the church as the other prop on which to lean.

At the first anniversary of the foundation of the General German Workingmen's Union, Lassalle was compelled to show to the workmen how successful their agitation had been, and to Bismarck that a power capable of giving him support had arisen, and he who had once declared, speaking out that which is to be the first and mightiest means to attain political ends, must attempt to get the best effects he could by unrealities.<sup>1</sup> He could speak of a support by the Catholic church only in so far as the bishop of Mayence, Baron von Kettler, whom Brandes calls the champion of obscurantism and anti-educationalism and who later was to defend the Syllabus, had, after years of learned investigations of social matters, pronounced in his book, "*Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum*," his agreement with every point in Lassalle's economic tenets in opposition to the Progressionists.<sup>2</sup> Spielhagen here differs essentially in his narration.

The representative of the church comes in due time, when Leo, from an impulse of his own and on advice of his friends, looks for allies — thus fulfilling the prediction made in the beginning of Leo's political activity by the novelist's Liberal spokesman that the latter after having learned the unchangeable weight of existing conditions would, in his despair, grasp after anything which had the appearance of aiding him in his impotence; a perfect reflection of Lassalle's last political days (I 386). But the help Leo seeks for carrying out his reforms cannot be had except in an ecclesiastical sense, i. e., by the spreading of ecclesiastical slavery in a pietistic form. The liberty which he will procure is a liberty which frees but the bodies and cannot be successful unless it bring also the liberty of the spirit.

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 405-06.

<sup>2</sup> Ronsdorfer Rede; Oncken, I. c. p. 408. This Catholic bishop must help Lassalle still at his last trial at Düsseldorf June 27, 1864, in his attempt to influence the Catholic judges; Oncken, p. 418.

This is nowhere possible except under the soft yoke of the church, which grants the only imaginable liberty, i. e., equality before God (II 332). Besides, this is the only liberty that can win the romantic mind of the king for the reforms which Leo seeks to accomplish. Lassalle, on the other hand, had nothing to do with any religious aspect of the church. But his being compelled by adverse political conditions to grasp the hand of the clergy has rightly found expression with Spielhagen in his representation of Leo, who, by force of circumstance, with inner repugnance and disgust hardly overcome, makes common cause with the representative of the church.<sup>1</sup> In regard to Leo's social program the church is going to help him only if he make great concessions to it and to capital. He struggles to refuse this (II 507-09). His fall and death prevent him from subscribing to such a program.

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German literature includes many novels which deal with historical persons; we know of none, in the composition of which the author has so amply, for agitatorial purposes, drawn from the life and works of a great man as in DvH, and, in a still larger measure, in IRuG.

In comparing the political lives of Münzer and Leo with that of Lassalle we see how well informed Spielhagen was concerning the latter<sup>2</sup>, and we conclude that the discrepancies which we find are intentional. The æsthetic and poetical principles of the novelist have caused some changes.<sup>3</sup> Others are due to the fact that he did not assume the office of the historian. Thus we hear nothing of the Prussian Conflict which led to the birth of the Progressionist party<sup>4</sup>, and gave Lassalle the occasion for which he had been waiting, to re-enter the political arena and start his labor movement.<sup>5</sup> Nor does Spielhagen mention the question of universal suffrage<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, Leo's political struggle does not occupy a place in the novel commensurate with the importance of Lassalle's contest with the Progressionists.<sup>7</sup> And just the omis-

<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. e. g. above p. 11 ff: 95.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. e. g. above p. 14; 115-6.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> Above p. 129.

sion of Lassalle's demand for universal suffrage explains to us the motives which caused the majority of the discrepancies which exist between history and novels. The Democrat's conversations with the man who represented the monarchical State bore on this franchise.<sup>1</sup> But not even in Leo's interview with the king, based on that speech in which Lassalle prophesied the establishment of universal suffrage, does Spielhagen make mention of this franchise which, as goal and means, is the *sine qua non* for the socialist's agitation.<sup>2</sup> Lassalle is nothing politically if not the champion of universal suffrage.<sup>3</sup> That Spielhagen does not treat this question must be attributed to his Progressionist leanings, as the Progressionists believed that the existing franchise needed no extension<sup>4</sup> and were in fact opposed to the grant of universal suffrage. From a Progressionist standpoint the novelist gives also in Leo's socialistic experiment an example of an enterprise in disagreement with Liberal principles.<sup>5</sup> The purpose is evident. He is politically a champion of the Progressionists and wants to write "*Tendenzromane*."<sup>6</sup> He is opposed to a Hegelian State and advocates self-education.<sup>7</sup> He places the ideals of the Liberals in the brightest light, represents them as altruistic, while he depicts the ruling classes as the embodiment of all evils, as inferior in moral and intellectual qualities.<sup>8</sup> But in his characterization of the Liberals he gives no complete historical picture of the opponents of Lassalle and Bismarck, and omits the weak sides of Liberalism. On the other hand, he has, in his party-political prejudice overdrawn Reaction, for this Reaction was working for the solution of the German Question.<sup>9</sup>

But the pronounced political purpose<sup>10</sup> of his novels is, notwithstanding his Progressionist leanings, pre-eminently an ethical one.<sup>11</sup> He was in sympathy with the Progressionists because he had more in common with them than with other parties. But he was no strict partisan of theirs. He was more interested in the ethical side of Liberalism. While wishing to give in his "*Zeitro-*

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 145; 151.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Above p. 72-73; 81; 52; 136-7.

<sup>8</sup> Above p. 43-4; 53; 117.

<sup>9</sup> Above p. 115; 112; 119; 113.

<sup>10</sup> Above p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Above p. 131.

mane" an artistic form to his comprehension of the ideas which animated his time, he meant also to fight for his own ideals.<sup>1</sup> He believed that the external power of a nation has never guaranteed the duration of its sovereign authority, nor even its bare existence, but that the real invincible strength of a nation rests in its humanity, which is equivalent to the moral spirit governing it.<sup>2</sup> His political ideals, therefore, mean ethical aims. His love of fatherland, liberty, truth and the beautiful compel him to seek, above all things, to elevate the minds of the German people to the purer heights of true humanity. It is in this direction that he wishes to influence his time, and to this ethical purpose he makes the actual facts of Lassalle's political life subservient. Even in his last novel, *Freigeborn*, he desires to teach us to bring all our forces to the highest possible development.<sup>3</sup> And in DvH and IRuG Spielhagen's spokesmen are the champions of this high ethical idealism. Politics means to them ethics. Therefore, the intellectual and moral qualities of the parties at war in our novels are fully illustrated, and all political and social matters discussed from an ethical standpoint.<sup>4</sup> Spielhagen was convinced that social problems depend on, and find their causes, explanation and solution in the character of man.<sup>5</sup> It is from this viewpoint that the novelist in DvH and IRuG has drawn pictures of the Prussian-German world as he believed it to be during the middle of the past century. They have turned out to be also fitting illustrations of his poetic principles.<sup>6</sup> The actors have been characterized by their words and actions, and given full life by being drawn after persons whom the novelist knew intimately. It was a matter of course that the principal leader of the socialistic movement in these novels should have been modelled after Lassalle, who was its foremost representative in history, as far as Germany was concerned, and whose personality had always been an interesting study to Spielhagen. In view of the novelist's ethical-political aims, it cannot surprise that the character of Lassalle had a greater attraction for him than his political activity.

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Spielhagen, *Am Wege* p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 118; 129; 123.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. IRuG I 184; Henning, l. c. p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 7 ff.

In his autobiography he has credited the great Democrat with having made himself a name in the history of the world, but he has also found fault with the moral traits of his character.<sup>1</sup> He has emphasized these also in "Freigeboren."

Here Lassalle is characterized as a man of genius. He acts with an almost infallible self-possession<sup>2</sup>, is quick at repartee in dialectics, excels in speaking extempore, and provokes and derides the public prosecutor at his trial at Berlin, Jan. 16, 1863. However, he shows himself as a man without taste.<sup>3</sup> In his mania for bragging and his arrogant vanity he appears in full dress before the judge and is, like an actor, conscious of acting his part well.<sup>4</sup> Fourteen years before this S(pielhagen) had believed in the honesty of the defendant; he was too young to verify at the trial of August, 1848, that Lassalle was a "phraseur" and "poseur." But now he is ready to take oath that the latter has these qualities in a high degree; that he is no longer concerned about the justness of his cause, but that he thinks only of his person and is working for effect (p. 295 f). Sprung from a race which, endowed with the greatest intellectual gifts, had been fettered for centuries, Lassalle does not know what to do with his share of this long stored up mental power, now that the fetters have fallen (p. 298-9). He parades coquettishly his intellectual superiority before the unlucky prosecutor. A true gentleman could and would not have done so. Lassalle should have been conscious of standing before the judge, as the representative of all mankind, or at least of its majority, the poor and wretched. But his conduct lacks the necessary dignity. There is a discord in his nature.<sup>5</sup> He is the prophet who intends to lead mankind to freedom, and the Don Giovanni who is the slave of his inordinate desires. He is a mixture of greatness and commonplaceness, of high thoughts and low desires, in one human soul. Devoured by vanity and selfishness, he has undertaken to solve a problem, for the approximate solution of which a noble-minded self-denial is the sine qua non (p. 314). But savant, thinker, apostle and agitator that he is, he seeks also to be the hero in love affairs. The heroine of "Freigeboren," who has often heard him spoken of

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Leo II 132; 121.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Spielhagen's utterance, quoted by Brandes, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. "Lassalle showed himself brave like a hero and vain like an actor at his trials." Oncken, p. 400. Cp. also p. 21; 116; 421; 432.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 33.

as a libertine and devotee of women (291), no longer believes in his filial love for the countess (Hatzfeldt), nor in his disinterestedness in herself, after he has assured her of his friendship with a fire which, she is convinced, had been kindled with a less pure torch (295). This discord in Lassalle's nature was brought to light especially by his inglorious end. An unlucky accident struck in a rough and rude manner the burden from his shoulders which he would have been obliged to drop ere long (314).

We have here an almost complete agreement between Spielhagen and the biographers of Lassalle, especially Oncken.<sup>1</sup> We find those causes related which must needs lead to a personal failure of the great Democrat, if not of the socialistic movement which he started. Oncken remarks that there has been hardly any career like Lassalle's, in which the purely personal and accidental has led the progress of his positive efforts from their course, and in which unrestrained passions have crossed a momentous and great cause. For Lassalle sunk forever all the ambition which had led him in the realms of politics and learning during his whole life, into his sudden passion for Helene von Dönniges, and thus forgot completely the cause for which he, the leader of a movement of such great consequence to Germany, had staked his heart's blood during his last years.<sup>2</sup> And Brandes writes about Lassalle's inglorious end: "Das Unreine, das Problematische in dem Charakter Lassalles, welches bewirkte, dass er, wie sehr er sonst aus einem Guss war, doch nicht ganz in seiner Sache und seiner Idee aufging, das war es, was ihn zugrunde richtete . . . aus allen seinen grossen Gaben erwuchs nur eine unvollständige persönliche Durchbildung."<sup>3</sup>

Upon these moral shortcomings of Lassalle, Spielhagen has enlarged in DvH and IRuG, and from his ethical views on the social problems as depending on the character of man, these novels must be judged.<sup>4</sup> The author sees the two principles of egoism and idealism (altruism) in a contest for supremacy.<sup>5</sup> He personifies them in his conservative-reactionary types and his progressive-idealistic types.<sup>6</sup> At first Münzer and Leo take part in this contest on the side of the latter, but soon they pursue their

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 9; Oncken, l. c. p. 376-7.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, p. 431; 434.

<sup>3</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> IRuG II 399-400.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 40-46; 51-52; 117.

own ends in politics. In doing so, they are not faithful in their duties toward the "Idea," which they wish to realize. Instead of concentrating their whole minds on it, they are led astray by passions which lie outside the "Idea." They prove to be lacking in that moral worth with which men must be equipped who undertake the difficult task of bringing nearer the solution of the social questions. Despite their splendid talents and idealistic efforts, they cannot succeed and must ingloriously go to ruin.

As for DvH, Lassalle's unfortunate infatuation for Helene von Dönniges with its sad issue, cannot have furnished Spielhagen with material for depicting Münzer's love affair, his resulting failure in his political work and his death at the hand of a rival. But it is interesting to note that the novelist should have drawn from the character of Münzer-Lassalle as early as 1862-3 a conclusion which, in August, 1864, was to become an historical fact, and this in its turn was to serve the novelist as the foundation for his critical remarks on the inglorious end of the socialistic Democrat, as the logical result of the latter's character, just cited from "Freigeiboren." The lack of moral worth for accomplishing great plans such as Lassalle conceived, is found by Spielhagen rather in the democrat's relations with the Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt, for which also the choice of the name of Antonie would speak.<sup>1</sup> These relations were a public secret, and were criticized by his Progressionist opponents, as are those of Münzer's with Antonie. But whatever the intimacy which resulted from Lassalle's becoming the attorney of the countess from motives doubtlessly ideal,<sup>2</sup> these relations had hardly anything to do with his untimely end or with his failure to reach practical results in politics, while such is the case with Münzer. It is much more the fact that the social sphere, which he entered as the friend of a woman belonging to the highest aristocracy, had for the champion of the working people such great attractions which is for the novelist a demonstration of the weakness in Lassalle's character. And, indeed, the social intercourse with the countess gave food to Lassalle's vanity. His whole predisposition for aris-

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 13. Lassalle's famous love letter written to the beautiful Russian Sophie Sontzeff whom he met in Aachen in the summer of 1860 (cp. Oncken l. c. p. 188) is a veritable document showing the foolishness of which the great Democrat was capable in love affairs. Spielhagen has made use of some thoughts, contained in this letter, cp. above p. 47; 105. It seems as if some material has been taken from this source to ascribe to Münzer traits of character, unfit for his great work.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 29.

toeratic living met this vanity which developed more and more while he was fighting against the power of rank and aristocracy<sup>1</sup> and showed a discrepancy in principle and action which, from the ethical viewpoint of Spielhagen, rightfully must be considered a moral defect.

But the novelist has magnified this discrepancy in Münzer by placing him in a conflict between his duties toward wife and children, and political aims on the one hand, and his passion for a woman of high aristocracy on the other, in order to show that only a morally spotless champion of the people can hope to be successful in his political task. For such a conflict in a character like Münzer's must end badly for himself and also have the strongest influence on the success of his public activity.

Münzer is, like Lassalle<sup>2</sup>, an idealist, but he is of a more romantic nature. He is a poet (297) — Lassalle composed even in his youth no lyric poem<sup>3</sup> — a dreamer whose real home is the wonderland of Romantic (152; 159), and who cannot live without his dreams (465-6). Anything of a fairy nature is apt to ensnare, as with magic threads, his mind, which longs passionately for the extraordinary (161). An ardent Faustean desire fills him (156) like Lassalle<sup>4</sup>, and his soul is easily intoxicated, to the state of ecstacy, with whatever is great and beautiful (652). His passionate heart is continually at war with his better thoughts and conscience (267; 395).

The "Idea," too, which leads Münzer<sup>5</sup>, has a romantic color. He has found that men as the sons of Titans, who, after a vain attempt to share the blessed life of the Gods on Olympos, married in their disappointment daughters of the earth: Sorrow, Want, Sickness, have still a suspicion of this blessed life which we call love, but which we, no more than our Titan fathers, can find. There is only a small amount of happiness for mankind to share, and each of us can have his modest portion but by contenting himself nor asking more than he willingly gives to his fellow-men. This discernment, which can demonstrate itself by deeds of humility and resignation, is called justice by Münzer. If he cannot love his fellow-men, he can at least be just (165).

<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 46; also p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 115. Cp. above p. 16, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 32; 71.

This idea of justice he has not only endeavored to implant in the minds of his pupils (44), but he will realize here on earth by working for the freedom of his people politically, without expecting material reward (273), or being hampered by interest in friends and by domestic happiness (276-7; 151). Deliberate (28; 298) and inflexible (479) in his political activity, he fails because of his deceiving the "Idea"<sup>1</sup> and for the weightier reason that in the struggle of his idea of justice with his passionate heart (325) and his aristocratic, romantic nature (317; 310-1; 501-2) he proves to be an erratic character.

He has married, without love, what he believed to be a simple, insignificant girl, in order to have no advantage over other men (169). His heart, however, claims its rights. But instead of making its warmth radiate into the heart of his wife and stirring the flame of his domestic hearth by the fire in his bosom (652), he finds no satisfaction in the crushing narrowness of a sober middle-class abode (159) since he has met a member of that social class against which he has started his fight, that woman who is the realization of his phantastic dreams and worthy of him (156; 159; 161). An aristocrat in thought and feeling (652), he falls in love with her because she, an aristocrat by birth and character, is in every way the opposite of his gentle, modest and peaceful wife, whose charms, a good character and intellectual gifts of talents, he has been unable to discover and to appreciate. For he was born to live in a sphere which lies far above an ordinary commonplace life, and he is attracted toward aristocrats. He feels himself now in an irreconcilable conflict between passion and duty towards the cause to which he had vowed his life (267). His mind struggles to combat his love for Antonie (384; 464), recognizing very well that this love is an error (383), but his heart remains a victim to her charms (320; 673). He is not the man who can make real his idea of justice (323; 325; 382).<sup>2</sup> Neither does his political activity make him contented. He has no confidence in the people whom he wishes to reform. He esteems the workmen for whom he pretends to fight, as little as the nobility and the propertied classes (646). Nor does he find in Antonie's love that satisfaction for which he has been longing and for which he has sacrificed his wife (461). He feels that at

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 65.

the bottom of her heart she, the aristocrat by birth, must in her proud soul despise the cause for which he seeks victory (465). He seeks death in the revolutionary rising when he believes that Antonie has given him up for another man (575). His power is broken. He does not know how to rhyme his ideals with life as it is (474) and feels that he does not fit into this world (665). Münzer, the champion of justice, fails because of his problematical character.

Splendid intellectual gifts of talent alone are not sufficient to erect a new world. The actions and words of the democrats in DvH<sup>1</sup> preach Spielhagen's means for the approximate solution of social problems, and to this purpose Lassalle's political activity has been made subordinate in the novel. A new society can and must be erected only on the principles of right, justice and the solidarity of interests (67). The archenemy of man, selfishness, can be overcome only by love (645). That these principles shall rule the earth and be the foundation of the new world, we must begin with ourselves (44). We can hold ourselves free from sin, do for our persons the right thing, live, undisturbed by the egoism of others, for the ideal of brotherhood (47-49), and make sacrifices as much as we can, without giving up our better selves (372). Fate makes of us what we make of ourselves, for our fate is not the work of a God, but it is ourselves with our weaknesses and virtues (447; 646; 70). Every disloyal action, both in private life and in politics, must needs result in error and confusion. Human virtues are bound to one another in solidarity (665). If in any man there has been a disturbance within one sphere it will react on another (501). Adultery is a sin against common morality, a principle which holds good everywhere, and he who becomes faithless to his convictions (400) — the worst sin he can commit<sup>2</sup> — who will rule and knows not how to rule himself, cannot be great politically. He is the worst enemy to freedom. In a truly free commonwealth moral greatness is the necessary correlate to political greatness (389).

Beside the problematical, there was, however, one trait in Lassalle's nature to which he owes all his success, and which made him one of the most remarkable men. History has not kept rec-

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Compromising, founded deeply in Lassalle's nature (cp. above p. 78; 92; 93; 142-3), is from Spielhagen's viewpoint a moral defect (cp. above p. 64).

ord of many who are such monuments to Will, as is Lassalle.<sup>1</sup> He believed in the power of his will to accomplish anything on which he has set his mind,<sup>2</sup> and he has shown in the realms of learning, law and politics that this belief was no self-conceit.<sup>3</sup> He was a champion of the indeterminism of will,<sup>4</sup> and life without action<sup>5</sup> meant nothing to him. In his correspondence with Marx concerning his "Sikkingen" he does not agree with his friend, that the failure of the reactionary Sikkingen was demanded by the philosophy of history. He is, from his own personality, which burns with impatience to act, so fully convinced of the immortal right and importance of individual initiative that he refuses to accept a critical philosophical conception of history, which denies the reality of individual decisions and actions, and leaves, therefore, no ground for practical deeds, nor representations of actions on the stage.<sup>6</sup> Even if Spielhagen had not known of this correspondence he could not have helped finding in Lassalle's whole life an exhibition of such an independent will.<sup>7</sup>

In union with his eminent will power and his belief in the possibility and necessity of free decision, his aristocratic nature shaped Lassalle's career. For the innermost trait of his active personality was dominating aristocracy.<sup>8</sup> He had been created to rule like an autocrat and for display—he was always the grand seignior with aristocratic taste—he had not been made for the part of a plain, self-denying champion of the people, although he remained a democrat all his life.<sup>9</sup> He looked as if he would conquer a throne.<sup>10</sup> There was a feeling in him as in the offspring of an old lordly race,<sup>11</sup> and even in his youth he had strong leanings toward aristocracy.<sup>12</sup> His aristocratic individuality showed itself not only in his agreement with Heraclitus, the intellectual aristocrat who everywhere utters his contempt for men, speaks of the democratic envy of greatness and declares that there are never more than a few good (great) men, while

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<sup>1</sup> Brandes, l. c. p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 21 f.

<sup>3</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 125-6.

<sup>7</sup> Above p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Above p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. above p. 107; 12. Oncken, p. 436; 324; 325.

<sup>10</sup> Above p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 436.

<sup>12</sup> Above p. 26.

the majority live like beasts.<sup>1</sup> It showed itself also in his challenge to Fabrice, the action of an aristocrat which he prefers to his democratic principles.<sup>2</sup> It not only explains his position at the head of a party which he created,<sup>3</sup> but brings him, in union with the inflexibility of his whole nature, into a position which was to result in a great calamity.<sup>4</sup>

Because of this exhibition of will, aristocratic individuality and desire for wielding an autocratic power, rather than in his conceptions of State as the embodiment and promoter of Right,<sup>5</sup> and of Might as Right on the part of the Democrat,<sup>6</sup> Spielhagen, seeking to delineate in a poetical form the typical features of the spiritual life of his time, saw in him a type of reckless and ruthless egoism<sup>7</sup> of heroic proportions, well fitted to pose for the drawing of a champion of the working people who, despite his heroic character, is unable, on account of his moral shortcomings, to lead them out of their social wretchedness. It is to this predominating thought that in IRuG, too, the actual facts of Lassalle's political activity have been made subservient. Leo, the socialistic hero, has been equipped freely with the splendid gifts of his prototype, but at the same time, the main traits of character which made the historical democrat the great man of the German labor movement, have been blended with some that are either fictitious, or are exaggerations of the moral shortcomings of Lassalle.<sup>8</sup> This was done in order, by contrast, to bring into prominence the ethical ideals of the novelist and the means which he proposes for the social progress of mankind. Thus Leo has become a figure which, on the whole, differs greatly from the founder of German social democracy. It is no historical truth that Lassalle undertook and performed from reckless egoism his entire political-social activity. But such an egoism, the belief that he alone has found a way that can help the working people and the vigorous pursuit of his aims to the detriment of the rights of others, are both the underlying motives for Leo's political activity and the cause of his necessary failure.

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 140-1; 143.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 324; 325; 432.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 72-3.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. also above p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> Above p. 16; 20.

Even in his boyish mind he claimed to be the instrument of whatever idea had just taken hold of him (II 413), but through the influences which he underwent as a youth he has come to exchange the passion of his heart for the "Idea." Since a serious mind must sooner or later turn to those highest problems which appear on the horizon of mankind, Leo has given himself up passionately to the solution of the labor question, to the exclusion of a life of leisure (I 512). He is convinced that he has learned something in philosophic and political matters which is not the property of most men. Like Lassalle<sup>1</sup>, he wishes to disseminate new ideas. He sees in the power of capital those fetters which must be removed if the social emancipation of the working people is to be accomplished (II 177). He feels assured that with the exception of death and such ailments as are inseparable from our human nature, there is no single evil which has not its roots in the stupidity of man. The amount of natural sufferings, therefore, can be reduced to a minimum (I 258) by him who has the power to force liberty and health upon those who do not wish to be free and healthy (I 296). There was hardly any labor question in 1862 when Lassalle entered the political arena.<sup>2</sup> But the mastery of Hegelian dialectics invited him to shape actual conditions rationally, it gave him also the spiritual contents for the emancipation of the working people<sup>3</sup>. So Leo will draw from his political-philosophical doctrine the practical conclusions to break the power of capital and feels that he is blessed by fate to be the instrument of this great idea (I 516),<sup>4</sup> as Lassalle felt himself called to fight for his ideals.<sup>5</sup> It is this immortal idea which forms the center of his universe; it is no woman who occupies this place (I 263). In order to serve with all his power the idea of liberty he must be free (I 266). He has learned to believe that the only true passions are those of the brain (I 397; cp. I 140; 252), and that the noblest and greatest of all consist in the unselfish devotion to a great idea which carries in itself its happiness and wretchedness, and, therefore, does not trouble itself about the happiness or wretchedness of the individual (II 274). Happiness and contentment are matters of secondary importance

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 113; 153.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 27-8.

(I 265). Thus Leo is filled with the passions of truth and justice, and serves the great idea of freedom (I 497; cp. II 585).

With the spirit of independence and courage which he showed in his relations with Tusky (I 192; 147), he enters upon the pursuit of his political plans (I 395), to be, like Lassalle, the leader of the fourth estate.<sup>1</sup> He has always aimed at great things and even in his youth he dreamed of leadership.<sup>2</sup> Conscious, like Lassalle, of his superiority to many eminent men (I 251), and like him having longed from early youth to rise above the crowd,<sup>3</sup> Leo also is determined to succeed.<sup>4</sup> His way shall lead upward. for the history of nations is made by those who have power (I 271)<sup>5</sup> — Lassalle's high esteem of power.<sup>6</sup> Disappointed in his hope to find an understanding with the Liberal forces of the State, he becomes a deserter from their ranks from a mighty instinct of creative genius, which finds in the world, as it is, no more room for itself (I 452-3). Alone — like Lassalle — he endeavors to bring into life his great thought of freeing the working people from the fetters of capital, convinced that he will secure the power to force freedom and health upon those who do not wish to be free and healthy. To this holy cause of the people in its last consequences, he has, like the historic democrat, consecrated his existence.<sup>7</sup> To fight alone enflames rather than intimidates his courage (I 451). He who once has looked into the mysterious face of the sphinx, the social problem, is forever charmed; he must continue his dangerous path, regardless whether jackdaws and ravens crow about him or the abyss gaps threatening before him (I 394). No hesitation and procrastination, no weighing and measuring becomes him who wishes to attain great things in a great way (II 165). He is ready to sacrifice himself like Lassalle.<sup>8</sup> If he should not succeed, he is willing to depart this life covered with the jeers and scorn which the world has in store for fools and adventurers (I 440). Failure, however, shall find him greater than destiny, which can crush him, but which cannot humiliate him (I 530). He deems it possible that the times of heroes have passed by, that the strong arm of the indi-

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Above p. 105; Oncken, l. c. p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> Above p. 26; Oncken, l. c. p. 190.

vidual warrior has no longer the weight which it had once, but he believes that genius has not become superfluous, for the movements of the battalions must be led by some one who overlooks the whole. The masses today, as formerly and ever, will and must be guided. They cannot engender in themselves the thought which is to lead them, but still must be moved by him in whom the great thought originated (I 268) — Lassalle's organization of the masses.<sup>1</sup> Having learned what doleful parts dreamers and good souls play, and are not ashamed to play, in this cruel world of inexorable facts, Leo prefers to be the hammer, instead of the anvil. He will use the means for his great aims with cold blood and clear head (I 434). Left to his own resources, he goes as a heroic nature (I 266) his way with the boldest assurance (I 529) as his prototype was, by his mastery of Hegelian dialectics, imbued with the firm belief in himself.<sup>2</sup> He follows his star untiringly (I 265) with his aims clear before his mind — Lassalle remains always the democrat and seeks to the end of his life victory for the democracy of 1848.<sup>3</sup> But Leo's former friends among the Liberals find that he walks through life, arbitrarily and self-sufficiently like a comet, which runs its course solitarily and incalculably, a phenomenon, a riddle which they cannot solve (I 251).

But because of the many obstacles which confront him, Leo soon recognizes the impossibility of executing his plans without support. He must, like Lassalle, enter into connection with influential men.<sup>4</sup> From an idealist he turns, like him, to be a realist in politics (I 251) in order to attain his social aims within the existing State,<sup>5</sup> and in so doing, the heroic champion of the people is compelled to compromise as the historic democrat, notwithstanding his theory on the failure of revolutions, was forced to compromise in order to see results in his political activity and become a power within the State in the shortest time possible.<sup>6</sup> Early in his political career he had wished to be a king, for every one who plans great things has at some time this wish (I 395). He had also seen in dreams the royal ruler, with head bowed before him who was ruling by the power of mind and the force of

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 106.

words (I 431). He has known for years that this is to happen. Great souls that work on great plans have in a moment of extraordinary excitement a kind of fore-knowledge of their fulfillment by seeing certain pictures in dreams. It is only necessary to interpret them rightly. So Leo schemes to use the king for his political plans, for the king is susceptible to new ideas, and soft and tractable like clay in the hands of the artist (I 431). If he should prove to be fragile, it would not matter, since Leo's work would be done in a very short time. He trusts, like Lassalle,<sup>1</sup> in his ability to do an unlimited amount of things in a few years or even in a few months (I 431), and he is sure of success. For, like him, he believes in his star (II 165).

Leo, indeed, has had no empty dreams. He wins the good graces of the king, and, consequently, rises in influence. But while drawing nearer to his goal, his striving for power springs more from selfish lust than from the holy cause to which he has vowed his life. So Lassalle's thirst for fame, with all positive efforts, must always think of itself,<sup>2</sup> and might and its possession becomes to him everything in the course of his political career.<sup>3</sup> Only as a democratic politician, striving for power, he becomes a socialist.<sup>4</sup> Leo had been the lofty idealist, which he was in his youth,<sup>5</sup> when he entered the capital, and with the feeling of responsibility he had undertaken the fight against the selfish interests, ruling the State, not for himself, but for the working people (II 598). As a prophet he had uttered proud words (II 412-3). His ambition was praiseworthy and his egoism had altruistic purposes. He believed himself to have found the only way possible for the social improvement of the conditions of the working people and was engaged solely in accomplishing this task. But when the opportunity of gaining influence over the king offers itself Leo works systematically for the sake of his own success (II 518). So Lassalle's striving for power had also personal motives.<sup>6</sup> Leo himself, to be sure, is not aware of this; he believes that he is working to rule all, in order to serve many unselfishly (II 267). He feels like Jehova, who desires, in the first place, to be a god of justice, and, therefore, cannot suffer any other god beside

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 21; 80.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 141; 6.

<sup>5</sup> Above p. 22-3.

<sup>6</sup> Above p. 130.

himself (II 268). But because Leo is always friendly with, and obliging to, those who are weaker than he (II 267), others interpret his desire for power differently; they believe he bids for the favor of the people in order to satisfy his selfish lust for rule. Indeed, the heroic champion of the people becomes the champion of his own interests (II 367-9). Although he thinks or pretends to be free from petty egoism (II 170), his political activity is blemished by his selfish work in the interest of holding and strengthening his personal power which this position makes certain. In his youth he had always wished for something out of the ordinary line for himself, he had striven and hoped for it. Now when he has found the greatest appreciation by the king, who, he believes, is not entirely unworthy of this name, his old vanity leads him astray (II 596). His aristocratic individuality puts itself forward. As with Lassalle,<sup>1</sup> so Leo's innermost inclinations and true nature are repelled by the vulgar crowd for whom he must pretend to have love and the desire to labor. He has nothing but pity for them, or that sympathy which a drill-sergeant has for the block-head whom he must drill, and a policeman has for the starving vagabond whom he must pick up from the dirty streets, and love only in so far as love is pity (II 319) — Lassalle, however, had always an honest compassion with those against whom he saw an outrage committed.<sup>2</sup>

Without losing sight of his aims to erect a new social world, as Lassalle always remained the democrat, Leo's autocratic desires manifest themselves with all their inherent moral blamableness and harmfulness to others, an exaggeration or even a fictitious rendering of the dominant aristocratic character of the great democrat. Leo allows no interference with the freedom of his decisions. This is in certain measure true with Lassalle, but it is enlarged upon in Leo. The mere thought that some one attempts to impose his will on him is sufficient to arouse his feeling of independence and to feed his lust for power; it prompts him to exercise his tried strength to throw off mercilessly everything which, uninvited, crowds upon him with the intention of crossing his path (I 404). Pitiless and circumspect, as must be he who struggles with the world (I 402-3), the erstwhile champion of the "Idea" becomes the egoist who is more concerned

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 72.

about the pretense of being the instrument or the apostle of his idea than about its contents; a demagogue whose social program seems to become only a means for selfish ends (II 505; cp. II 518) — the Liberal capitalists, too, think that Leo uses the Labor question only to push himself into the highest political spheres.<sup>1</sup> Lassalle, on the other hand, works, during the last month of his life, for a revolution by the Government, and his social aims recede for the moment—;<sup>2</sup> a cold calculator who, still and great, proceeds without troubling himself about those who cry on the side of his path. He knows only one weakness, to permit himself to be led from his course by secondary considerations (I 492). In his endeavor to gain influence everywhere (I 366), he shows that he has no heart like other men. He who believes himself true to his duty and is held to be a man of heroic virtues does not concern himself about the individual (I 465; 513-4), unless it has a political interest for him (I 437), to be thrown aside when he has profited by it (I 358; 442). It is to the interest of the common-weal that he sacrifices a whole family (I 523), but the lot of the mill people, who have given themselves into his hands as their attorney and champion, does not trouble him when his principal aim is to hold his power over the king (II 380), or when his heart claims at last its rights — only the latter would apply to Lassalle; for he had a decided feeling for justice.<sup>3</sup> Leo becomes unscrupulous in his egoism. Spielhagen speaks of Lassalle as “*der rücksichts- und skrupellos handelnde*.”<sup>4</sup> This, apparently, refers to his political methods. Oncken also says that Lassalle was unscrupulous in politics, that he would make use of anything which might appear as a success of his agitation.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Leo, however, unscrupulousness is more personal. He never loses sight of his aims or twists resolutions which he has taken, although he may change his ways (II 477). If he chooses another way it is not because of any sentimental emotion (II 160). He would sacrifice his best friends or the woman whom he loves if he believed that would help him (I 493). The sacredness of his cause has ceased to be to him an assurance of its success, and

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Oncken, l. c. p. 38.

every means suits him if it promises good results (II 413); it does not matter to him if this success is, from an ethical viewpoint, entirely desecrated by the evil means which he employs (II 412). He professes openly, without the quiver of an eyelid, views which he despises from the depth of his soul. He will marry a woman of noble rank because it fits into his political combinations (II 412), a woman who understands just enough of his ideas and plans, in order to know that she cannot lecture him (II 319). And in the refusal to marry a woman for her wealth, he sees an action, worthy of the hollow idealism which he finds contemptible in the Liberals after they have become his opponents (II 338).

His vanity and assumption of superiority bring him more and more into conflict with the ethical principles of society. It is true, he does not forget the warnings of Tusky to beware of the first blot on his character since his blood is hot — which cannot be said of Lassalle — nor must he be reproached for complaining that he must make history with men who, in their timidity and scrupulousness, consider their duties toward others instead of making use of the suitability of political constellations (I 531), and for considering — in agreement with Lassalle — immoral and hating from the bottom of his heart the merchant-ethics which always speaks of the “Mine” and the “Thine”, and in which everything is measured by the yard of individual advantage (II 274). But in his unfortunate overweening opinion of himself (II 597), Leo treats with indifference common morality. He is not concerned about the morality of men in his attempt to improve social conditions, whereas Lassalle devotes his life to an alliance of learning and the working people, and therefore, has also an ethical interest in them.<sup>1</sup> Leo can do nothing but use the people for his purposes in whatever way these purposes require (I 352). And for himself, he concedes to great men an exceptional position in respect to common ethics. Life is to him a science. When one considers it such and commits an error, then his grief differs very much from the desolate pang which springs from the so-called moral constitution of the world with which they frighten small and

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 125.

grown up children. It does not matter to him whether such is the philosophy of a god or a devil; it is certainly not the philosophy of mediocre men who would not be called men if they were not in the majority (I 353). Indeed, he believes it to be the glory of great men, not to be wholly blameless morally, and of an able man, not to be desirous of being guiltless. Only he who has not understood fully this word of the philosopher<sup>1</sup> can demand of himself to be morally without blemish (I 515). Sometimes one does the good because his way leads straight over it. One needs not do it for its own sake (II 505). A heroic man, like Leo, cannot be measured by the standard of commonplace morality (II 370).

But this heroic champion of the people, the great man who owes himself to his great aims, as kings owe themselves to their people (I 516), who, in the pursuit of these aims offends the accepted standard of ethics and unwittingly is more concerned about having his own way and ruling, autocratically without true sympathy with the sufferings of the working people, fails by overrating himself. He had boasted of being free from sentimental emotions, and of not belonging to those who crave for love because they cannot live without a mirror which in reflecting beautifies their pictures, nor to those who strive for friendship because, conscious of their weakness, they are afraid in the gloom of life (I 541). But there is also something problematical in him. His heart, like Münzer's, carries the day. He is now no longer the man who he used to be (II 509), and like Lassalle and Münzer, forgets that for which he has been working (II 556-7). His political ambitions fade before the desire to revenge himself. Now he does not change even his ways, because he has gone too far (II 477). He will continue the fight in the way in which he had started it (II 598). But an unlucky accident ends his life. In his political fall it becomes also manifest that whatever successes he has had, they have been dependent on the ruling powers of the State — Lassalle's position dependent on Bismarck.<sup>2</sup> His rise was due to the influence of his cousin on the King.<sup>3</sup> Without this influence, without the chain by which Leo draws the heavy royal earth up to the Olympian

<sup>1</sup> Schelling. Influence of Lassalle?

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Spielhagen's creation of this lovely woman a poetical representation of the conservative-liberalism which for a short time ruled in Prussia before the outbreak of the "Conflict"?

height of his view of the world (II 170), all heroism of his is of no avail. The king's judgment runs: Leo in his vanity and arrogance has leaped all bounds; he cannot do the great things which he boasted he could do. He is an impostor, a charlatan (II 534-5). And this judgment is subscribed to also by Spielhagen and his ideologists in IRuG. As a problematical character, like Münzer's, cannot solve the social problem, so a heroic nature like Leo's, is unfit for this task.

The novelist, too, is aware of the wretchedness of the existing conditions and of the need of a radical change (I 438-9; cp. I 453-4). He sees that the time has put forward problems which must be solved; he himself intends to do his share in helping the progress of mankind (I 303). He goes direct at the solution of those problems and voices frankly his convictions (I 302), by giving his novels a purpose. As the laws of poetry prevent him from saying that which is to him of the greatest import (I 304), he will be a man of action, a man who proclaims and preaches from his platform, the novel, that which as a poet he would be obliged to keep shut up in his desk; a man who no longer reflects magical castles through the *fata morgana* of his poetry, but girds on a dusty leathern apron and helps with hammer and trowel in building the house in which free men shall live beside freemen (I 305-6).<sup>1</sup> He and his friends claim that they march at the head of all those who are earnestly engaged in leading the German people from mediæval conditions up to liberty and light (II 398). They feel that they have the cultural mission to enlighten the people and destroy egoism, and this also in the interest of women (I 401; cp. I 414-5). They believe themselves to be the salt of the earth, without which it would become torpid in desolate selfishness, an abode for wild animals in human forms. They look beyond the individual at the general interest so that nothing ambiguous and obscure remain in them; that any possible remnant of selfishness will disappear in the great holy aim, the humane thought, which in its loftiest expression is love. This humane thought has taken hold of their hearts and minds, and compels them to strive for the kingdom of God and its justice, which are so intimately related that the one is unthinkable without the other. This jus-

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 7.

tice, in union with the faithful fulfillment of the duties which our daily work imposes on us (cp. II 388-9) makes us worthy of a better future (II 174), and will bring about the free State for which they hope (cp. I 399; 303). It can, however, maintain its rights only under the protection of the sovereign freedom of culture (I 415). These Liberals are proud to be called ideologists. They believe in themselves, trust that they will be freed from slavery (I 305), love truth (I 251), insist on morality in politics (I 398; cp. II 270), and excel in frankness and in fidelity to their convictions (I 299). They profess these convictions without fear of men (I 397). They are ready to sacrifice themselves that liberty may dawn for the people (I 398) and consider it a duty and honor to suffer for just things (I 397), in their attempt to remove the existing difficulties that the following generations may, upon smoother and broader paths, hasten on to conditions of liberty (II 398). The social question is with Spielhagen an ethical question.

In contrast with Leo-Lassalle, who sees in the power of capital the main cause of social wretchedness, the novelist recognizes only a few defects which can and must be abolished, or made at least harmless, by spreading a better education. Man must be taught to aspire for the good, beautiful and true (cp. I 312).<sup>1</sup> We must live our lives without fear so that we enjoy the fragrance of every good deed (cp. II 400), and our actions must emanate from our innermost being if they are to be valid (II 322; cp. I 409; 246). For the greatest happiness is found in that we agree with ourselves and feel responsible for whatever we do (I 305; cp. I 120). Love,<sup>2</sup> the better part of our human nature, the humane and democratic idea which comprises all mankind, as it was born with, and is immortal like, mankind (II 172), has been given new strength by the revolution. It must now become nobler and richer in the life of man, must be set to work, must become an object of sentiment (II 399). The ideologists have sympathy with the poor and wretched.<sup>3</sup> The individual is to be freed from distress and burdens, none shall carry more than he is able to do (I 267). Our heart must feel oppressed at the sight of want, and our hands must open them-

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 137.

selves at the voice of poverty, it being our duty to lend at any time our ears to those in affliction (II 11). There is only one immorality, that is the lack of kindness of heart, in which any and every feeling becomes torpid (II 272). An active, practical love in a free commonwealth (I 303) must take the place of religion. Politics must emanate from a moral philosophy which affirms liberty for all (cp. I 312; II 400), and allows every one to find his salvation in a way that suits him best (I 53). This does not mean that the novelist and his friends wish to prevent children from attending church. Not every one comes into peace with his God in the same way as his neighbor, nor must children find the path obstructed which for centuries has been taken by innumerable people, and without doubt, has led them very often to their goal (I 53). But they believe that religion, like art, is only a point of transit for mankind on its pilgrimage to its highest development. For a religion, which puts the solution of the most perplexing problems into an indefinite hereafter, can give them no complete satisfaction (I 303). They claim for actual facts an eternal sovereignty (I 301) and are not satisfied with making an "immortal Idea", as such, a center in the whirl of crowding phenomena (I 263).

It is the spirit of human brotherhood (II 619) which makes Spielhagen and the best types of Liberals the unselfish champions of the people against the egoism of the nobility, church and the brutal police tyranny which calls itself the Government (cp. II 399; 400; I 305).<sup>1</sup> For they believe that these are, because of their privileges or illegitimate immunities, the main obstacles for the diffusion of education and for social progress (I 314). They will not acknowledge a nobility by birth. True nobleness consists in goodness of character, in the unceasing endeavor to perfect oneself, and consequently, the nobility of a race can only be found in excellence, increasing from generation to generation (I 137). The claim to nobility can, therefore, only be earned. It is not exclusive but strives to include in itself all mankind (II 216). An aristocracy which holds privileges by reason of birth, a Government which suppresses liberty, and a church which pursues its selfish ends are, moreover, in conflict with the great thought of the solidarity of human inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 118.

ests which is again putting itself forward in these days. Every one, of whatever parentage, must submit himself to this thought (I 266-7), no one can rightfully claim an exceptional position which favors his interests to the detriment of the rest.

Nor can he be considered a great man who has not contended for this solidarity and followed it up in all its ramifications to the best of his ability and realized it by his acts. Leo-Lassalle is not striving for this greatness, nor willing to be converted to this thought of the solidarity of interests (I 386). He prefers to pursue his selfish aims while he is posing as the heroic champion of the working people. What he has in mind is something impossible, unattainable, and revolting against the democratic spirit of the time. He plumes himself on worshipping the "Idea." But that this idea is not the idea of the Liberals is shown by his method of action. While he himself makes pathetic speeches — like Lassalle<sup>1</sup> — (II 388-9), a third person must be made use of for the work of realization. He makes, and must make, use of evil means which are not only frail and, therefore, bound to foil his plans, but become or may become in the turn of a hand evil aims (I 393; II 275; 270). If the Liberal idea is the "Idea," Leo cannot prevent it from realizing itself, still less destroy it (I 453). He may obscure it for a moment, but it does not depend on the doings and conduct of an individual (I 453). An individual can be but its instrument (II 275), not its father.

Moreover, however heroic one may be, he can accomplish nothing great, as an individual and in a moment. Leo is mistaken in doing things head over heels. Besides his socialistic experiments to raise the wages of the working people — for it is evident that such a raise cannot last any length of time since wages depend on the market of the world (II 176) —, his dissatisfaction with the slow progress, made by human industry and activity, is not well founded. The Liberals, too, wish for a faster progress. But since the basis on which a new social world is to be erected must be broader, the plans for the democratic uplift of the people will take more time for their execution than a heroic individual like Leo may wish. And this is not harmful. Only that which has been prepared with the sweat of the brow and finished by the slow, hard work of thousands of industrious hands, will bring

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<sup>1</sup> Oncken, I. c. p. 116.

the right kind of blessing, and will last for centuries (I 246-7; cp. I 433). And finally, no one can go a solitary way if he wishes to be successful in a task of the greatest import for all. As a politician, Leo-Lassalle commits the fatal error of believing himself able to swim against the current, and of imagining that an individual can unite in himself the sum of strength, discernment and knowledge which ordinarily is, with difficulty and incompletely, found only in a goodly number of able party-leaders (I 385). In order to accomplish the great political deed which is to be accomplished, Leo-Lassalle must unite his power with that of others, the good are unable to do anything unless they stand together (I 439). We live for one another (I 52-3). We can attain our highest development, our salvation, only by following the motto: The individual for all, and all for the individual, like good soldiers in rank and file (I 266), that is, by living for the "holy order" (II 620). All countries contain good people who form a single great army, while the individual is but a single soldier. However feeble he is as such, he is irresistible as a member of the whole (I 266-67). The times when heroes took the lead and the headless and heartless crowd followed them, shouting and inactive (I 266), have passed by. Now and then we may, in the boundlessness of absolute contentedness, believe in our ability to remove mountains. But this arrogant vanity is crushed by the unchangeable weight of facts (cp. I 253). In view of this, the individual must needs despair of his powers and grasp for anything and everything which has the semblance of help to him in his impotency (I 386).<sup>1</sup> But this is of no avail. The obstinate, capricious pursuance of such aims as Leo-Lassalle's must lead to a tragic issue, unless one make concessions (II 173; cp. II 388-9). A man with a character like theirs may act, for a time, the part of a star. The magician apprentice will be drowned by the waters which he has conjured (I 454). He will pay for socialistic experiments with his moral, perhaps with his physical death (I 454). Heroes and saints may sacrifice themselves but they are unable to deliver others (II 260).

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<sup>1</sup> Above p. 156-7.















